A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

From the TIME that the

PHOENICIANS

First Landed in this ISLAND,

To the End of the REIGN of

King *GEORGE* I.

Taken from the beſt AUTHORS and MANUSCRIPTS.

By WILLIAM BLENNERHASSETT, *Eſq;*

VOL. III.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:
Printed by JOHN GOODING, on the *Side*,
for the AUTHOR.
MDCCLI.

A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

From the Time that the

PICTS

First Landed in this ISLAND,

To the End of the Reign of

KING GEORGE I.

Taken from the best HISTORIANS and MANUSCRIPTS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

By WILLIAM BLENNERHASSETT, Esq.

VOL. III.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:
Printed by JOHN GOODING, on the Side,
for the AUTHOR.
MDCCLI.

that ſome one ſhould be choſen to be Head and Preſident, with the Title of *Protector*; yet to do nothing without the Conſent of the reſt. 1547.

The Lord Chancellor ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, thinking that the Earl of *Hertford* would be the Man choſen, who was not his Friend.

However, the Matter being fully debated, *Hertford* was choſen Protector, but with the ſame Reſtriction as above.

The late King had, before he died, deſigned ſome new Dignities to be conferred on ſeveral of the Regents and Counſellors, and had even ſettled the Revenues or Salaries he deſigned to give theſe new Lords, the better to ſupport their Dignities; but this being impeded by the King's Death, the Regents undertook to confer theſe new Dignities as follows: The Earl of *Hertford* was made Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Marquis of *Northampton*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Chancellor, Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Lord *Sudley*, *Rich*, *Willoughby*, and *Sheffield*, had the Title of Barons with the Names of their Families.

To aſſign Salaries to theſe new Lords, no better Expedient was found, than to alienate 5 or 6000 *l.* a-year of the Lands belonging to the Chantries. Theſe Promotions, with the Revenues annexed, were not approved of by the Publick: However, the Regents and Counſellors approved of them,

1547. tho' it was thought too selfish in the Beginning of their Regency.

This done, *Edward*'s Coronation was solemnized with the usual Formalities; on which Day a general Pardon was granted to all Persons, except the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pole*, *Edward Courtney*, eldest Son of the Marquis of *Exeter*, Dr *Pates*, Mr *Fortescue*, and Mr *Throgmorton*.

As I have observed, the Lord Chancellor was a very proud Man, and a great Enemy to the Reformation; which made the Protector, and the rest of his Party, wish to get rid of him. It was not long till they found a plausible Pretence. He having resolved to apply himself chiefly to Matters of State, put the Great Seal to a Commission, directed to the Master of the Rolls, and three Masters of Chancery, empowering them to execute the Lord Chancellor's Office, in as ample a Manner as if he himself was present.

This done, the other Regents, his Enemies, brought this Affair before the Council, and obtained all the Judges Opinions in the Case in Writing; who declared he had no Power to do it without the Consent of the King or Regency; and that, by so doing, he had forfeited his Place, and was liable to Fine and Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure.

This made the Chancellor in a great Passion with the Judges, and even with the Protector, Regents, and Council: But his Haughti-

tineſs was of no Benefit to him; he was immediately ordered to be confined to his Houſe, till they had conſidered of his Puniſhment. 1547.

After the Matter was debated, they were of Opinion, that they had a Power to take the Great Seal from him; but that they could not take his Power as Regent from him: yet he was ordered into Confinement, and the Great Seal given to the Lord St *John*, till another Lord Chancellor ſhould be appointed.

He continued in Confinement till he enter'd into a Recognizance of 4000 *l.* to pay what Fine they ſhould impoſe upon him.

After the Protector had got rid of this troubleſome Enemy, he thought of nothing but how to get the ſole Management of Affairs. The *French* Ambaſſador having given to underſtand, that he did not know how to treat with him in any Affair, ſince he doubted his Authority, a Patent was ordered to be drawn up to eſtabliſh his Authority as Protector: However, he had ſo managed it, that the Condition, that he ſhould do nothing without the Conſent of the other Regents and Council, was left out of the Patent.

No Doubt that all the Regents could overlook this Fraud; but it is very probable that *Cranmer*, and ſuch as favoured the Reformation, were ſatisfied that the Duke's Promotion would be very advantageous to Religion.

After the Patent was drawn, and the Great Seal

1547. Seal put to it, the Protector became all in all, and govern'd with an abſolute Authority; tho' this drew upon him the Envy and Ill-will of Abundance of People, and particularly the Nobility of the adverſe Party.

Soon after was concluded a Treaty with *France* for renewing the former Alliance made in the late King's Time, and for ſettling the Bounds of the Territory of *Boulogne*; but *Francis* died before he had ratified it, and left *Henry* II. for his Succeſſor.

When *Henry* II. was called upon for a Ratification of this Treaty, he utterly refuſed, being wholly adviſed by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, his Brother, who managed *Henry*'s Affairs, to obtain *Boulogne* at any rate. They were furiouſly addicted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and were for uſing all Means poſſible to break off the intended Marriage between *Edward* and the young Queen of *Scotland*.

The Party of the Reformers was now ſo ſtrong, that it was difficult for their Enemies to oppoſe them. The King himſelf was at their Head. He had made great Progreſs in the Study of Religion, by the Care of Dr *Cox*, his Preceptor, who was of the ſame Sentiments with the Reformers. The Duke of *Somerſet*, *Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Holgate*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *Holbeach*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Goodrick*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr *Ridley* *Latimer*, were the Perſons whom Dr *Burnet* calls in his Hiſtory, the Re-

Reformers. The other Party were the Princeſs *Mary*, *Wriotheſley*, Earl of *Southampton*, *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Bonner*, of *London*, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter*, with many other Biſhops, and the major part of the inferior Clergy. 1547.

The Protector and his Party thinking this a fit Juncture to puſh the Reformation, ordered a general Viſitation of all the Churches; and the Viſitors were empowered to aboliſh certain groſs Abuſes, and particularly with regard to Images: But as Dr *Burnet*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, has given a full Account of the Reformation in his Hiſtory thereof, I ſhall not give the Particulars here.

The Protector and the Council reſolved to carry War into *Scotland*, in order to have brought about the intended Marriage; and, for that Purpoſe, the Protector enter'd *Scotland* the 3d of *September* with an Army of 15,000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, having the Earl of *Warwick* for his Lieutenant-General. He took ſome Caſtles in his March; and particularly the Caſtle of *Crochty-crag*, where he left a Garriſon of 200 Men.

In a few Days he came in Sight of the *Scots* Army, 30,000 ſtrong, with 30 Pieces of Cannon, who expected him on the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* ſeeing the *Scots* Army ſo much ſuperior, ſent word to the Earl of *Arran*, Regent of *Scotland*, that he would retire to *England*, in order to ſave the great Ef-

1547. Effuſion of innocent Blood that was going to be made, if the *Scots* would agree that the young Queen ſhould be bred up in *Scotland* till ſhe came of Age, and give Security that ſhe ſhould not, till then, be contracted in Marriage to any Foreigner. This Propoſal, thoroughy conſidered, could be no Way detrimental to *Scotland*; but the *French* Faction was ſo prevalent at the *Scots* Court, that this advantageous Offer was proudly rejected.

This made the Protector reſolve on a Battle. The two Armies were parted by the River *Eſk*; the *Engliſh* on the South Side, and the *Scots* on the North, about two Miles diſtant. The Protector marched forwards with his whole Army, with Deſign to gain a riſing Ground; but the *Scots* having Notice of it, immediately paſſed the River, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that Poſt. The Protector having miſſed his Aim, encamped on a little Hill not far from the River, and nearer the Sea, where their Fleet lay. The *Scots*, upon this, imagined they were for embarking, and looked upon the *Engliſh* as already vanquiſhed by their Fears, and intended to retire on board in the Night.

The *Scots* thinking to fruſtrate their Deſign, advanced in good Order to give Battle. The Moment the Protector heard this, he drew up his Army in Battalia, part upon the Hill, and part upon the Plain, and placed his Artillery in an advantageous Place. His Fleet was near enough to be able

able to fire upon the Enemy in the Flank; nay, one Galliot, lighter than the reſt, annoyed the *Scots* Army extreamly. 1547.

It was on the 10th of *September* the two Armies engaged; and, after a very obſtinate Fight, the *Scots* were put to Rout, leaving 14,000 dead on the Spot. Fifteen Hundred were taken Priſoners, of whom 800 were Gentlemen.

This great Loſs threw all *Scotland* into the utmoſt Conſternation. The Regent and the Queen retired to *Stirling* with the Remains of their Army, ſo leaving the Frontiers to be ravaged by the *Engliſh*. A few Days after the Protector took *Leith*; and the *Engliſh* Fleet, commanded by the Lord *Clinton*, burnt ſeveral Sea-port Towns in the County of *Fife*, with the Ships in their Harbours; which done, the Army enter'd *Edinburgh*, without Oppoſition, and plundered the City.

If the Protector had puſhed this Victory, he might eaſily have conquered all the Kingdom: But hearing that his Brother, the Admiral, was caballing againſt him in *England*, he was forced to return haſtily to Court, in order to break his Brother's Meaſures.

On the 18th of *September* he ſet out for *England*, having employ'd but 18 Days in this extraordinary Expedition; and, as the *Engliſh* Writers relate, loſt but 62 Men in all.

This glorious Campaign put the Nation in mind of ſeveral noble Actions he had done in the late Reign. All this gained him great Applauſe from the People, but, withal, the Envy

1547. Envy of ſeveral Nobles. This Contrariety between the Nobles and the People was very prejudicial to him: It induced him to build too much upon the Peoples Favours, and to raiſe himſelf above the reſt of the Nobles, by taking upon him the ſole Adminiſtration of Affairs: but ſince he was naturally humble, modeſt, and civil, no other Reaſon can be given for this, but his Zeal to promote the Reformation; for all his Proceedings in publick Affairs, both foreign and domeſtick, tended only to that Point.

The Viſitors having made their Report, it was found, that all the Biſhops had complied with the Orders of the Council, except *Bonner* and *Gardiner*. Theſe inſiſted, that it was not lawful to make any Alterations in Religion during the King's Minority.

As the Parliament was to meet ſoon, when it was intended to make ſeveral Alterations in Religion, the Protector thought it proper to remove theſe two troubleſome Prelates out of the Way: Therefore, under Pretence of their Obſtinacy to the Council's Orders, which appeared from the Viſitors Report, they were ſent to Priſon.

Some Days before the Parliament met, the Lord *Rich* was made Lord Chancellor; and the Protector, by a Patent under the Great Seal, was warranted to ſit in Parliament on the Right-hand of the Throne, under the Cloth of State, whether the King was preſent or not, with a *non obſtante* to the Sta-

Statute of Precedency;) and moreover, was 1547.
to enjoy all the Honours and Privileges that any of the Uncles of the Kings of *England*, or any Protectors, had ever enjoy'd.

The Parliament being met the 4th of *November*, made ſeveral material Acts; ſome related to the State, and others to the Church. The Court left no Stone unturn'd to get Members elected, who would be of the ſame Mind with them. This is what has been frequently practiſed, and hard to find a Remedy againſt.

The firſt Statute that was made, repealed ſeveral Acts paſſed in the late and ſome former Reigns; and, firſt, were repealed,

I. All Acts declaring any thing to be Treaſon but what was in the Statute of 25th *Edward* III.

II. This Statute repealed alſo all the Acts which made that Felony, which was not ſo before the Rupture with the Pope.

III. The Act which gave the ſame Force to the King's Proclamations as to Acts of Parliament. If this Statute had continued, Parliaments would have become uſeleſs.

IV. Two Acts paſſed againſt the *Lollards*.

Laſtly, by the ſame Act, the Law of the ſix Articles was alſo repealed.

By another, the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy was confirmed anew.

It was enacted alſo, that all ſhould enjoy the Benefit of the Clergy, (that is to ſay)

1547. Exemption from certain Pains for thoſe who were able to read, and the Privilege of Sanctuary, (as before *Henry* VIII.'s Reign) except only ſuch as were guilty of Murder, Poiſoning, Burglary, Robbing on the High-way, Stealing of Cattle, and out of the Churches and Chapels.

With regard to Religion, ſeveral Acts were made. Firſt, private Maſſes were aboliſhed; and the Cup was given to the People in the Communion.

Another Act gave the King Power to nominate to the vacant Sees by his Letters Patent, and ſo aboliſhed the Way of chuſing Biſhops by *Conge d'Elire*; which was only Grimace and Mockery, ſince theſe pretended Elections were all made by the Direction of the Court.

The Juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts was alſo very much abridged, by taking from them the Cognizance of the Cauſes concerning Wills and Marriages, which were removed to the Civil Courts.

Laſtly, the Parliament gave the King all the Lands deſigned for the Maintenance of Chantries, Chapels, and Colleges, which *Henry* VIII. had not taken Poſſeſſion of.

I ſhall now ſpeak a little of the Reaſon of the Protector's quitting *Scotland*. Among all thoſe that envied the Protector, Admiral *Thomas Seymour*, his Brother, was moſt againſt him. He was hot, proud, and haughty, and could not bear the Diſtinction the King had made between him and the Duke

Duke of *Somerſet*. The Admiral had made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; but finding no Encouragement, he turned to *Catharine Parr*, Queen Dowager, and managed his Matters ſo well, that he won her Heart, and married her privately. He having kept his Marriage private ſome Time, found Means, unknown to the Protector, to procure a Letter from the King, recommending him to the Queen for a Huſband. As ſoon as he had got this Letter, he made his Marriage known to the Publick; and here began their Quarrel. The Admiral inſinuated himſelf ſo much into the King's Favour, that he made a ſtrong Party among the Nobility. 1547.

The Admiral, the better to gain the young King, furniſhed him with Money privately, which made him have leſs Occaſion to apply to the Protector: By this Means the Affections of a Youth was ſoon won to his Favour.

This done, he repreſented to the King, that the two Offices of Protector and Governor of the King's Perſon rendered his Brother too great; and that it was proper to part them, and confer the ſecond on himſelf, in order to balance the Power of the Protector.

The Admiral had ſo much prevailed upon the King, then but 11 Years of Age, that he writ, with his own Hand, to the Parliament, to make him Governor of his Perſon; but this was ſo badly reliſhed, that he

was

1547. was threatened with Impriſonment, if he proceeded any further in the Attempt. He threatened the Parliament all he durſt: Nay, he ventured to tell them, he would make it the blackeſt Parliament that was ever in *England*, if they refuſed; but the Reſolution being againſt him, he was forced to ſubmit, for fear of the worſt, which was what the Protector wanted: yet after, he had a ſtrict Eye on the Admiral.

This Year the two Heads of the Proteſtant Party in *Germany* were made Priſoners to the Emperor, by a fraudulent Contrivance; which rendered the Proteſtant Party in that Country very weak, and the Emperor's triumphant. The Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, who had embraced the Proteſtant Religion, was forced, upon this, to renounce his Dignities of Archbiſhop and Elector of the Empire. After that the Emperor made ſundry Alterations, tending to deſtroy the Reformation, or rather to render him abſolute in *Germany*, under that Pretence; and, for this Cauſe, the Pope himſelf grew jealous of him. Hitherto *Germany* had ſerved for Sanctuary to Abundance of Proteſtants perſecuted in other Countries; but, ſince this Proceeding of the Emperor, there was no longer any Safety there: ſo many of them came to *England*, where they ſaw the Reformation was in a fair Way. Among theſe were *Peter Martyr*, *Bucer*, *Ochinus*, and *Fagins*, to whom *Edward* gave Penſions and Benefices. *Fagins* was made *Hebrew* Pro-

Profeſſor of *Cambridge*; *Peter Martyr* had the Divinity Chair at *Oxford*; and *Bucer* that of *Cambridge*. 1547.

In the Beginning of the Year 1548, the Council made ſeveral Alterations with reſpect to Religion. By an Order, the carrying of Candles on *Candlemas-Day*, the Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, with the Rites uſed on *Good-Friday* and *Eaſter-Day*, were forbidden; and it was left to the Peoples Choice, whether they would go to Confeſſion, or neglect that Practice, which had been deemed an indiſpenſable Duty; and all Images in general were ordered to be taken out of the Churches.

Gardiner was the only Perſon that durſt oppoſe this publickly; upon which he was ordered before the Council, and after ſent to the Tower. This Severity had a great Effect: All the Friends of the *Romiſh* Church, ſeeing their chief Supporter was not ſpared, came to a Reſolution to conform at leaſt outwardly.

The Regent of *Scotland* had reſolved to undertake the recovering of the Places the Protector had conquer'd; tho' the Protector, deſpairing of bringing the Marriage about by Force of Arms, had offered a ten Years Truce, knowing that *France* intended to aſſiſt the *Scots*.

The Protector perceiving their Reſolution, gave the Conduct of an Army to *Francis Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, who enter'd *Scotland*, and took ſeveral Places.

The

1548. The *Scots* ſoon after received an Aid of 6000 Men from *France*, but withal not to join in favour of the *Scots*, without the Regent would agree to ſend the young Queen to *France*. This Matter was long debated: But the Queen-Mother was very deſirous to ſend her Daughter to that Court, where the Princes of *Lorrain*, her Brothers, bore an abſolute Sway; and her Party prevailing, ſhe was ſent back with the Ships that brought the *French* Army.

The two Armies being come very nigh, the *Scots* intrenched on a very advantageous Place. After which they offer'd the Earl of *Shrewſbury* Battle; but he choſe rather to retreat, and, for what Reaſon unknown, returned to *England*.

Deſſe, the *French* General, after that, advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*, without any Reſiſtance, and returned loaded with Booty.

Whilſt the Emperor was ſtriving to deſtroy the Reformation in *Germany*, it daily got Ground in *England*. The Parliament, which had been prorogued till the 24th of *November*, by reaſon of the Plague being in *London*, met, and was almoſt wholly taken up with Matters of Religion.

By an Act made this Seſſions, Prieſts were allowed to marry. Another confirmed the new Liturgy, which Commiſſioners, appointed for examining and reforming the ſeveral Offices, had been employ'd about during the whole Summer. This new Liturgy retrenched divers Abuſes, both in the Com-

Communion Service and all other Offices, and gave the whole a Turn favourable to the Reformation. It is the ſame the Church of *England* makes Uſe of at this Day, bating a few Alterations. 1548.

The Admiral was not ſatisfied with his Condition, but ſought all Means to ſupplant his Brother. The Queen, his Spouſe, being dead, he renewed his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; but all to no Purpoſe. At laſt the Council being inform'd he was contriving ſomething againſt the Government, ſent him to the Tower.

After which the Council drew up 33 Articles againſt him; ſome for conſpiring againſt the Government, and others charged him with protecting Pirates. He was called to give his Anſwer to them, but refuſed, inſiſting to have an open Trial, and his Accuſers to be brought Face to Face; but this was denied, tho' full Evidence appeared againſt him: A Practice which ought to have been aboliſhed, eſpecially during a Minority.

However, a Bill of Attainder was brought before the Lords, who gave their Concurrence to it, upon examining the Depoſitions: But when it came to the Commons, it met with ſome Oppoſition; not but that they believed the Facts to be true, but inſiſted upon his being brought before the Houſe, to make his Defence: But the King having ſent them a Meſſage, that he believed the Facts to be true, and that there was no

Ne-

1549. Neceſſity for it, the Commons agreed to the Bill; this Method having before this been a Cuſtom in Caſes of the ſame Nature; and the Royal Aſſent being given, the Admiral was beheaded.

Before the Parliament broke up, they granted the King a Subſidy, to aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of *Scotland*: The Clergy alſo granted him a Subſidy. After which the Parliament was prorogued till the 4th of *November*.

Preſently after the Council appointed Commiſſioners to go and eſtabliſh the new Liturgy in all the Churches. It was every where received without Oppoſition, except by the Princeſs *Mary*, who would never ſubmit to this Change. The King and Council would have forced her to it: But, upon the Emperor's interceeding in her Behalf, it was thought adviſeable, for Reaſons of State, to promiſe him to leave her undiſturbed for ſome Time; but he pretended afterwards, that the Promiſe was made him, without any Limitation.

About this Time the Council being informed, that ſeveral *German* Anabaptiſts were come into *England*; and, fearing they might ſpread their Errors, commiſſioned *Cranmer*, and ſome others, to ſearch after and try theſe People.

One *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan of Kent*, being ſeduced by the Anabaptiſts, ſhewed an invincible Obſtinacy, and was pronounced a Heretick, and ſentenced to be burnt.

burnt. When the King was requeſted to ſign the Warrant for her Execution, he declared his Averſion to it. At length *Cranmer*, by his Arguments, prevailed upon the King; and he ſigned it with Tears in his Eyes. This Proceeding of *Cranmer*'s ſerved for a Foundation to very diſadvantageous Reflections upon the Reformation and the Reformed. 1549.

Two Years after, one *George Van Pare* being accuſed for ſaying, *That God the Father was the only God; and that Chriſt was not the very God*, was burnt in *Smithfield*: Whereupon the Papiſts very juſtly ſaid, *It was plain the Reformers were only againſt Burning, when they were in Fear of it themſelves.* This Man was of exemplary Piety, and ſuffered with great Compoſure of Mind.

Theſe Proceedings made great Murmurings among the People; beſides, ſince the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, there were ſeveral People, not able to work, reduced to great Miſery: Whereupon the Lords paſſed an Act, that every one might have Leave to incloſe their Lands for the Improvement of Tillage; but the Bill was thrown out by the Commons; nevertheleſs the Lords and Gentlemen incloſed their Grounds, tho' the common People were excluded. Theſe Affairs bred an univerſal Diſcontent among the common ſort, and occaſioned Inſurrections in above 12 Counties.

The Protector perceiving the Flames

1549. were kindling all over the Kingdom, ſent to let the People know he was ready to redreſs their Grievances; and, by this Means, he ſtopt their Fury. Then he brought the Affair before the Council, to find out ſome Expedient; but he met with ſuch Oppoſition, that he thought himſelf obliged to act in it by his ſole Authority: Therefore, contrary to the Mind of the whole Council, he iſſued a Proclamation againſt all new Incloſures, and appointed Commiſſioners, with an unlimited Power to hear and determine Cauſes about Incloſures, High-ways, and Cottages.

The Nobility and Gentry complained of this, and called it an Invaſion of their Property, to ſubject them to an arbitrary Power, and openly oppoſed the Commiſſioners.

The People finding they had no Redreſs from the Court, roſe again in ſeveral Places: Nay, the Prieſts and Monks ran among them, and fomented the Rebellion to the utmoſt of their Power.

The Protector ſent the Lord *Ruſſel* with a ſmall Army to ſtop their Proceedings; but being much inferior in Number, he ſent to *Arundel*, a *Corniſh* Gentleman, whom the Rebels had made their General, to ſend a Liſt of their Grievances, which ſhould be laid before the Council.

Upon this they ſent to the King's General their Demands, drawn up in 15 Articles; which plainly ſhew, that Religion was the chief Motive of their Rebellion.

I. That

1549.

I. That all the General Councils, and the ancient Canons of the Church, ſhould be obſerved.

II. That the Act of the ſix Articles ſhould be again in Force.

III. That the Maſs ſhould be in *Latin*, and that the Prieſts alone ſhould receive.

IV. That the Sacrament ſhould be lifted up and worſhipped; and thoſe who refuſed to do it, ſhould ſuffer as Hereticks.

V. That the Sacrament ſhould only be given to the People at *Eaſter* in one kind.

VI. That Baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered at any Hour, and at all Times.

VII. That Holy Bread, Holy Water, and Palms, be again uſed, and Images ſet up; with all the other ancient Ceremonies.

VIII. That the new Liturgy ſhould be laid aſide, and the old Offices, as well as the Proceſſion, reſtored.

IX. That all the Preachers, before their Sermons, and Prieſts in the Maſs, ſhould pray for the Souls in Purgatory.

X. That the People ſhould be forbid to read the Bible.

XI. That Dr *Moreman* and Mr *Criſpin* ſhould be reſtored to their Livings.

XII. That Cardinal *Pole* ſhould be reſtored, and made of the King's Council.

XIII. That every Gentleman might have only one Servant for every Hundred Merks of yearly Rent belonging to him.

XIV. That half of the Abbey Lands ſhould

1549. ſhould be taken from the Poſſeſſor, and adjudged to two of the chief Abbies in every County; and all the Church Boxes for ſeven Years ſhould be given to the ſaid Houſes, that devout Perſons might live in them, who ſhould pray for the King and the Common-wealth.

XV. That, for their particular Grievances, they ſhould be redreſſed, as *Humphrey Arundel* and the Mayor of *Bodmyn* ſhould inform the King and the Council.

Theſe extravagant Demands were rejected with Indignation: However, to ſhew the Injuſtice of them, *Cranmer* was ordered to draw an Anſwer to each of them. This he did very ſolidly, with reproaching their Ignorance.

The Negotiation breaking off, the Rebels laid Siege to *Exeter*; but met with ſuch ſtout Reſiſtance from the Citizens, that they were forced to turn the Siege into a Blockade. The Citizens endured extreme Famine for 12 Days with invincible Reſolution. They were forced to eat their Horſes, and make Bread of the courſeſt Bran. They were encouraged by an aged Citizen, who brought forth all his Proviſions; and declared, before he would give the City into the Hands of the Seditious, he would feed on one Arm, and fight with the other.

The Lord *Ruſſel*, who had but a ſmall Force, attacked a Bridge which the Rebels had poſſeſſed themſelves of, in order to retire

tire the better in Safety. The Bridge was guarded with 2000 Men, which he ſoon overcame. This gave him Courage, being joined with freſh Forces, to attack the Rebels. Upon his Approach, they raiſed the Blockade, and divided themſelves into ſmall Parties, which he eaſily diſperſed. *Arundel*, the Leader, the Mayor of *Bodmyn*, and ſome others, were taken and hanged ſoon after. This Inſurrection was in *Devonſhire*. 1549.

The Riſing in *Norfolk* was no leſs dangerous. One *Ket*, a Tanner, headed the Rebels, who quickly became 20,000 ſtrong. The Marquis of *Northampton* was ſent againſt them with 1100 Men only. *Ket* marched to *Norwich*, and advanced upon *Monſhold-hill*, above that City; where he erected a ſort of Tribunal, to adminiſter Juſtice as a Sovereign, under an Oak, called from thence *The Oak of Reformation*. He declared he did not riſe for the ſake of Religion; but with a Deſign to deſtroy the Gentry, and to put ſome of their own Body about the King, to direct and govern him.

The Marquis neglecting to obſerve the Orders given him, marched to *Norwich*, and enter'd the City; but as the Rebels had Friends there, he was attacked next Day, and was glad to get out, leaving 100 of his Men dead on the Spot, and 30 Priſoners.

This Loſs obliged the Court to ſend thither the Army deſigned againſt *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*.

1549. *wick.* It was compoſed of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe.

The Earl enter'd *Norwich*, and ſoon after attacked the Rebels, and put them to Rout. Two Thouſand of them were killed, and Abundance of Priſoners taken. *Ket* attoned for his Crime on a Gibbet at *Norwich*.

There were ſeveral more Inſurrections; but all diſperſed upon the Offer of a Pardon.

After all this was over, the Protector, whether to gain the Peoples Favour, or for what other Motive, he moved in Council for a general Pardon; but it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the Council, who were for puniſhing the People for their Inſolence.

However, he took upon him to grant, by his ſole Authority, a general Pardon, except to ſome few Priſoners. This drew upon him more and more the Hatred of the Nobles and Council, who ſaw they were conſulted only for Form's ſake.

By the Treaty between the late King of *France* and the late King of *England*, *Boulogne* was not to be reſtored, but upon Payment of 2,000,000 Crowns of Gold to the King of *England* in eight Years.

Henry II. notwithſtanding this expreſs Agreement, took Advantage of the Inſurrections in *England*, and enter'd the Territories of *Boulogne* at the Head of an Army: So that the moſt ſolemn Treaties go for nothing but an inexhauſtible Spring of Wars amongſt Sovereigns.

Henry having laid Siege to *Boulogne*, met with

with a brave Repulſe. The Plague, which 1549.
ſeized the *French* Army, compelled *Henry* to depart. He left the Management of the Siege to *Gaſper de Coligny*, Lord of *Chatillon*; who, after ſome fruitleſs Attempts, was forced to turn it into a Blockade.

The Protector having Advice, that the *German* Proteſtants were going to enter into a Treaty with *Henry*; and finding he had diſobliged the Nobility and Gentry, for which Reaſon he feared to aſk an Aid to ſupport the War with *France*, and to defend *Boulogne*, and the Coffers being nigh empty by the late Inſurrections, he propoſed to the Council the Reſtitution of *Boulogne*: But the Council received this Propoſal with Indignation, and it was conſidered as a real Piece of Cowardice. This was not againſt the Protector's Inclination, becauſe it afforded him a plauſible Pretence to apply for a Subſidy.

The Protector's Enemies, however, had contrived a Plot againſt him. They alledged he was more cruel than a wild Beaſt, ſince he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice his own Brother to his boundleſs Ambition: That he had been the Cauſe of the Inſurrection this Summer, by unjuſtly oppoſing the Council; and when their Fury was ſtopt, he granted them a general Pardon, contrary to the Will of the Council: That his Ambition had led him to raiſe a much more ſtately Palace than the King's; (this was *Somerſet* Houſe in the *Strand*, which ſtill bears that

1549. that Name;) and that he had pulled down ſeveral Churches, for the ſake of the Materials, and alienated Church Lands, to bear the Charge: That he had the Boldneſs to call himſelf *Duke of* Somerſet *by the Grace of God*, as if he was a Sovereign Prince: That he had broke through the Eſtabliſhment ſettled by the late King, and aſſumed the ſole Authority.

The Protector hearing theſe Reports ſpread publickly againſt him, foreſaw his Enemies Deſign: So, for fear they ſhould carry away the King, he ſet his own Servants about him, to watch narrowly what paſſed.

This Proceeding furniſhed his Enemies with the Pretence they wanted; and ſoon after a Council met, made up of his Enemies. The Lord St *John* was Preſident. The Earl of *Southampton*, who had been again reſtored to the Council, was another. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edward Pecham*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, and Dr *Wotton*, were the reſt. They met at *Ely* Houſe in *Holbourn*, and ſat as the King's Council. Secretary *Petre* being ſent in the King's Name to aſk the Reaſon of their Meeting, they forced him to ſtay with them. Being thus met, they laid the Blame of all the Diſorders in the Kingdom upon the Duke of *Somerſet*, for acting without the Advice of the Council. Then they declared, they intended that Day to confer with him; but ſince

since he had armed his Servants, and placed them about the King's Person, they did not think themselves obliged to expose themselves to an armed Force. This done, they sent for the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, and expressly forbid them to own the Duke as Protector. The Lieutenant promised to obey; but the Mayor and Aldermen were more cautious. 1549.

The next Day several more of the Council came over to their Side. Then they writ to the King, expressing their Duty and Zeal for him. They writ also to *Cranmer*, and to *Paget*, ordering them to see that the King's own Servants should attend him, and not the Duke of *Somerset*'s. Then they went in a Body to the Common Council at *Guildhall*, and declared their Zeal for the Good of the King and Realm; but that their Design was only to get him out of the Hand of the Duke of *Somerset*, who only minded his own Interest. The Common Council openly declared for them.

The Duke hearing what was acting against him, called together the few Counsellors then about the King, and protested he never had any ill Designs against any of the Counsellors; and offered to submit to the Judgment of two of those that were then present, and two of the other Party. This Offer made him lose five Counsellors more; who, being afraid the Duke was undone, thought

1549. it beſt to go over to the other Party in Time, to ſecure their own Intereſt.

Then they writ to the King, that the Office of Protector was granted to the Duke only, upon Condition that he ſhould do nothing without their Concurrence: That his Ambition had, on the contrary, led him to aſſume the ſole Authority; therefore, they judged him unworthy of that Honour.

Of all the Privy Counſellors, only *Cranmer* and *Paget* ſtaid with the King and Protector; who ſeeing the Impoſſibility of withſtanding the oppoſite Party, adviſed the King and Council to give the oppoſite Party the Satisfaction they deſired: which was accordingly done.

Then the Council came in a full Body to the King, and proceeded to an Examination of ſeveral of the Duke's Friends; namely, Secretary *Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *John Thyn*, *Edward Wolf*, and *William Cecil*, who were all ſent to the Tower, except *Cecil*.

Then the Duke was called before them, and the Articles of his Accuſation were read to him; which were much the ſame as a little before related in their Complaints againſt him at their firſt Meeting: upon which he was immediately ſent to the Tower.

He could not indeed deny, that moſt of the Facts laid to his Charge were true; but the Queſtion was, whether they were Crimes.

This done, an Order was made, that ſix Lords ſhould be the Governors of the King's Per-

Perſon, two of whom were in their Courſe conſtantly to attend him. Theſe were the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords St *John*, *Ruſſel*, and *Wentworth*. 1549.

The Enemies of the Reformation rejoiced in the Protector's Fall. They looked upon the Earl of *Warwick*, who was chief of theſe ſix Lords, to be a Favourer of the old Religion: but he was a Man that was moſtly guided by his own Intereſt; and finding the King was for the Reformation, he openly declared his Sentiments the ſame Way.

A Commiſſion ſoon after was granted to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and ſome others, to try *Bonner*, who was in the Tower, and a great Stickler for the old Religion, upon divers Principles he ſtill retained in Oppoſition to the Reformed. It is ſaid he behaved before his Judges more like a Mad-man than a Biſhop: However, he was deprived, and again ſent to the Tower; which made great Rejoicing among the Reformed.

The Earl of *Southampton* was in Hopes, ſince he had been inſtrumental to the Downfal of the Protector, that he ſhould be reſtored to the Chancellorſhip; but, contrary to his Expectation, the Earl of *Warwick* turned his Back of him, and all who were for the old Religion. This made him withdraw from Court; and ſoon after he died with Grief and Vexation. Some ſay he poiſoned himſelf. Thus Honour and Intereſt de-

1550. deprive Men of Reaſon, where their Policy extends only to temporal Enjoyments.

Mean while the War with *France* made the Council very uneaſy. They were at a Stand, whether to give up or defend *Boulogne*, tho' the Reſolution taken by the Duke of *Somerſet* was directly oppoſed; but then, their Views were only to bring him into Diſgrace. They took the ſame Method that the Duke had taken, to apply to the Emperor to take it under his Protection; but it was refuſed.

The Parliament being met, a Bill of Attainder againſt the Duke of *Somerſet* was, with a Confeſſion ſign'd with his own Hand, brought into the Houſe of Lords; whereupon he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 *l.* a-year of Land; with the Forfeiture to the King of all his Goods, and the Loſs of all his Places: So he came out of the Tower, upon giving Bond of 10,000 *l.* for his good Behaviour; and ten Days after he had his Pardon: So his Fall was not ſo great as his Enemies had expected. He forfeited, however, in a great Meaſure, the Eſteem he had acquired among the People; who, not diving into the Reaſons of his Conduct, in pleading guilty, and throwing himſelf upon the King's Mercy, took it for granted, that he was really guilty of all that was laid to his Charge: but the King judged otherwiſe, ſeeing he ſoon after gave him a Place again in the Council.

The Parliament knowing the Friends of the

the *Romiſh* Church, ſince the Duke's Fall, expected Turns in their Favour, reſolved to put them out of all Hopes. They paſſed an Act, confirming the new Liturgy, and ordering all the Images to be burnt. It was during this Seſſions, that the eldeſt Sons of Peers were firſt permitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. 1550.

The Earl of *Warwick*, during his Power, took Care not to forget himſelf. He was made Great Maſter of the King's Houſhold; a new Title, introduced by the late King.

Notwithſtanding he had made a Jeſt of the Reaſons given by the Duke of *Somerſet*, for giving up *Boulogne*; yet, for the very ſame Reaſons, he reſolved it ſhould be given up: For that Purpoſe a Congreſs was held, and the following Articles were agreed to.

I. That the City of *Boulogne* ſhould be reſtored.

II. That, in Conſideration of the Improvements that had been made, *Henry* was to pay to *Edward* 400,000 Crowns of Gold.

There were ſome other Articles relating to the delivering up to the *Scots* ſome Places the *Engliſh* had conquered in the late Wars; and that the King of *England* ſhould make no new War upon *Scotland*, unleſs he had ſome freſh Occaſion. This was giving up the intended Marriage.

The

1550. The laſt Article was, That the King of *England*'s Demands, Claims, and Pretenſions, as well upon *France* as *Scotland*, and all the King of *France*'s, and the Queen of *Scotland*'s upon *England*, ſhould remain as before.

Thus all the Pains that *Henry* VIII. had taken to ſecure a Penſion, in lieu of the Right he pretended to have to the Crown of *France*, was rendered of no Effect, and only the bare indeterminate Reſervation of the Claims *England* had to *France* was reſerved. Thus, what had occaſioned the ſhedding of ſo much Blood ſince the Reign of *Edward* III. was reduced to nothing, but that the Kings of *England* were to bear the empty Title of King of *France*, ſince no mention was made of the Penſion which had formerly been reſerved. The Duke of *Somerſet* had only intended to give up the Place; but this was giving up the Two Millions which *France* was indebted.

Warwick finding the People much diſguſted at this Procedure, in order to give them ſome Satisfaction in other reſpects, called to a ſtrict Account thoſe that had meddled with the King's Money, or been guilty of Miſdemeanors in the Exerciſe of their Offices. He ſpared not his chief Friends, who had been inſtrumental to the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Fall. The Earl of *Arundel* was fined 12,000 *l.* *Southwell* was put in the Fleet, and the reſt compounded with

with the Court in the beſt Manner they could. 1550.

This Year the See of *Weſtminſter* was united to that of *London*, and given to *Ridley*; *Thirleby* had that of *Norwich*; *Poinet* that of *Rocheſter*; and *Hooper* that of *Glouceſter*, given.

Paul III. the Pope, dying, the Cardinals went into the Conclave, and agreed to raiſe Cardinal *Pole* to the Papal Throne, and even came in the Night to his Chamber to adore him, according to Cuſtom: But he deſired them to delay the Ceremony till it was Day; telling them, it ought not to be a Work of Darkneſs. This Scruple, unheard of till then, made the Cardinals fear he would take it in his Head to reform the Court of *Rome*; and thereupon choſe the Cardinal *de Monte*, who took the Name of *Julius* III.

This Year *Polydore Virgil*, an *Italian*, who had been now 40 Years in *England*, had Leave to go and ſpend the Reſidue of his Days in his own Country, and was permitted to enjoy his Preferments, in Conſideration he had ſpent the beſt Part of his Life in writing the *Hiſtory of* England, after the Concluſion of the Peace with *France* and *Scotland*. The principal Affair in the Kingdom, was that of the Reformation, which the young King wiſhed to bring to as high a Degree of Perfection as poſſible. *Gardiner*, who was in the Tower with *Bonner*, was alſo deprived this

1551. this Year. Thus, by Degrees, they cut off the Power of their Enemies.

Commiſſioners were choſen to prepare a Confeſſion of Faith. It is thought *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were the Compilers of theſe Articles of the Church of *England*, being 42 in Number. Some Places of the new Liturgy were alſo corrected; but the Princeſs *Mary* refuſed to ſubmit to the Changes already made, or that were now making.

At this very Time the Sweating Sickneſs broke out in *England* with great Violence, carrying off, in 24 Hours, ſuch as were taken with it, in ſpite of all Remedies. If we may believe the Hiſtorians, this Sickneſs was peculiar to the *Engliſh*; for it ſeized no Foreigners, tho' in *England* at the ſame Time.

A Marriage was agreed on between *Edward* and *Henry* II.'s Daughter, which was to be conſummated as ſoon as ſhe was at fit Age.

Foreign Affairs being finiſhed, the Earl of *Warwick* applied himſelf to domeſtick ones, or rather his own. He cauſed *Henry Grey*, Marquis of *Northampton*, to be created Duke of *Suffolk*, and himſelf Duke of *Northumberland*, *William Paulet* Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*. They who were on this Occaſion dignified with new Honours, were the intimate Friends of the Earl of *Warwick*.

The new Duke of *Northumberland* could not, however, enjoy a perfect Tranquillity, as

as long as he beheld ſuch a Rival as the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was a Man of great Abilities, and gained the King his Nephew's Favour every Day; the Duke of *Northumberland* therefore determined to get rid of him at any Rate. To that End he made Uſe of two Ways. The firſt was, to ruin him in the King's Favour, by Means of certain Emiſſaries, who beſet him continually. The ſecond was, to give his Enemy ſuch Mortifications as ſhould cauſe him to act ſo as to give him an Advantage againſt him. Theſe two Ways ſucceeded to his Wiſh. 1551.

This Policy being uſed, the King, by Degrees, grew out of Conceit with his Uncle; and the Duke of *Somerſet* could not bear the daily Affronts put upon him. Few Men have Prudence or Moderation enough to avoid falling into ſuch Snares. 'Tis pretended, that ſeeing himſelf thus puſhed, he reſolved to kill the Duke of *Northumberland* at a Viſit he was to make him; yet his Impeachment only ran, that he intended to ſecure his Perſon: However this be, it can't be denied that he had contrived a Plot to be reſtored to his Poſt. Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who was in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Secrets, was bribed to make a Diſcovery; and the King being perſuaded his Uncle would have aſſaſſinated the Duke of *Northumberland*, he was ſent to the Tower, with ſeveral of his Accomplices. Next Day the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and two of her Women, the

1551. Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, underwent the ſame Fate.

As the Cuſtom of bringing Witneſſes Face to Face was out of Practice, it was an eaſy Matter to obtain a Conviction; tho' every one is ſenſible what great Alterations the confronting of Witneſſes makes.

Palmer depoſed, that Sir *Ralph Vane* was to have headed 2000 Men to ſupport the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Deſigns, who was to have fallen upon the Guard. That being done, the Duke intended to have gone through the City, proclaiming *Liberty*, *Liberty*; and, in caſe he failed to raiſe the People, to have fled to the *Iſle of Wight*. One *Crane* depoſed the ſame; and added, that the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, were privy to the Conſpiracy.

Upon theſe Depoſitions the Duke was brought upon his Trial before the Peers. The Articles were,

I. That he had deſigned to have ſeized on the King's Perſon, and the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs.

II. That he, with One Hundred others, intended to have impriſoned the Duke of *Northumberland*.

III. And that he had deſigned to have raiſed an Inſurrection in *London*.

The firſt and laſt of theſe Articles were Treaſon; but he denied them. As to the other Article, he confeſſed he had ſuch a De-

Deſign, but had not form'd the putting it in Execution; which was only Felony. 1551.

After the Peers had heard the Depoſitions, and the Duke's Anſwer, they unanimouſly acquitted him of Treaſon; but they condemned him to die for Felony. They proceeded, in all Appearance, upon a Statute made in the Time of *Henry* VII. which declared it Felony to intend to take away the Life of a Privy-Counſellor. This was ſtretching very far; ſince the Charge was only that he deſigned to ſecure the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Perſon.

When the People who were preſent at his Trial, ſaw that he was returned not guilty of High Treaſon, they ſhouted for Joy ſo loud, that they were heard at *Charing-croſs*; but their Joy was turned into Sorrow, when they heard he was condemned for Felony.

After which, Care was taken that none came to the King's Perſon, to ſolicit for a Pardon. The Lord Chancellor *Rich* had writ a Letter to the Duke in the Tower, that he would uſe his Intereſt in his Favour; but, in his Hurry, had only directed it to the Duke. The Meſſenger thinking it was for the Duke of *Norfolk*, gave him the Letter. *Norfolk*, in order to curry Favour, ſent the Letter to the Duke of *Northumberland*. *Rich*, underſtanding his Miſtake, and what happened upon it, went immediately to the King, and delivered the Great Seal, feigning an Indiſpoſition, and took his Bed; ſo it ſeemed too barbarous to do any thing fur-

ther,

1551. ther againſt him. The Seal was given to the Biſhop of *Ely*.

The Duke appeared calm and undiſturbed on the Scaffold, and made a Speech to the People. He affirmed, he had never offended the King by Word or Deed; and that he had always ſtudied the Good of the King and People. The Multitude cried out, *It was moſt true*; and would probably have reſcued him, if a Company of Soldiers had not attended the Execution. He gave God Thanks for making him his Inſtrument to promote the Reformation, and exhorted the People to perſiſt therein. He forgave all his Enemies; and deſired the People to bear Witneſs, that he died in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt: Then he turned to his private Devotions; after which he laid his Head on the Block, and received the fatal Blow. The People, who were ſeldom out in their Judgments about great Men, were ſo generally perſuaded of his Innocence, that many dipt their Handkerchiefs in his Blood, looking upon him as a ſort of Martyr.

It happened in the Beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, that a Woman ſeeing the Duke of *Northumberland* going to the Tower, ſhook one of theſe bloody Handkerchiefs at him, ſaying, *Behold the Blood which thou didſt cauſe to be unjuſtly ſhed, does now apparently begin to revenge itſelf on thee.*

About a Month after this Execution, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel*, who were

ſaid

ſaid to be his chief Accomplices, were all put to Death. They all proteſted they never intended a Plot either againſt the King or any Privy Counſellor. As for *Palmer* and *Crane*, the Witneſſes, they came eaſy off: Nay, the Intimacy between *Palmer* and the Duke of *Northumberland*, which was afterwards very great, occaſioned a Belief, that *Palmer* had been corrupted, and made a Tool, to proſecute the Duke of *Northumberland*'s ill Deſigns. 1552.

The Parliament being met, and ſeeing the great Abuſe of the pernicious Cuſtom of condemning People, without bringing the Witneſſes Face to Face and confronting them, enacted, that none ſhould be attainted of High Treaſon, unleſs two Witneſſes ſhould come, and to their Face aver the Fact, or by the Parties Confeſſion.

It was enacted alſo, that the Marriage of the Clergy ſhould be good and lawful, which had been conſidered by the People only before as barely tolerated.

A Bill alſo paſſed to repeal the Settlement of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Eſtate, made in favour of his Children by his ſecond Wife. In it there was a Clauſe, that the Duke of *Somerſet* and his Accomplices were juſtly condemned; but, upon Debate, this Clauſe was thrown out. This ſhews their Opinion of the Duke's Innocence.

The Duke of *Northumberland* got a Bill of Attainder agreed to in the Houſe of Lords againſt *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, for Miſ-

1552. Miſpriſion of Treaſon; but the Commons wholly rejected it. This made the Duke diſſolve the Parliament, which had been called in the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Adminiſtration, and had ſit five Years, in order to call a new one more devoted to the Court.

Heath and *Day*, Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, were deprived for oppoſing the Reformation; and an Alteration was made in the Biſhops Patents. Before they ran, during Life; but that was changed and made, as long as he behaved well in the Adminiſtration of the Biſhoprick.

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſtill directed the Affairs of the Government, tho' he had no Commiſſion to diſtinguiſh him from the other Counſellors. His Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Somerſet* putting every one in Fear, none durſt openly oppoſe him. The Lord *Paget*, for whom he had a mortal Hatred, becauſe he was devoted to the Duke of *Somerſet*, he got fined 6000 *l.* under Pretence of a Miſdemeanor in his Office of Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*: But this did not ſerve; he got him degraded from the Order of the Garter, under Pretence that he was no Gentleman; as if the late King, who granted it, did not know what he was: But his End in this was, to procure a Vacancy for the Earl of *Warwick*, his eldeſt Son.

The Queen Dowager of *Scotland* went to *France*, on Pretence to ſee her Daughter, the Queen, who was there, and obtained of that

that Court the Regency of *Scotland*, in the Room of the Earl of *Arran*. At her Return, she got the Earl to resign without Compulsion. The Archbishop of St *Andrew*'s did not like his Brother's resigning the Regency, so caballed against the Queen Regent; who had the Address to support herself by the Assistance of the Reformed, by promising them the free Exercise of their Religion in their own Houses. 1553.

The new Parliament being met, were made up mostly of the Court Party. They gave the King a very considerable Subsidy. The Preamble of the Act contained great Reflections on the Duke of *Somerset*, for wasting the King's Treasure, and for being the Occasion of the late Rebellions, tho' this was not inserted without great Debate. The Duke by this had a mind to shew the King what Power he had in the House. He procured also an Act for suppressing the Bishoprick of *Durham*; which done, the King founded one again at *Durham*, with 2000 Merks Revenue, and another at *Newcastle*, with 1000: but the Temporality of the Bishoprick being turned into a County Palatine, was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*.

The King being seized with a Distemper which carried him to his Grave, the Duke brought an Order for him to sign, for visiting the Churches, and taking thence all the superfluous Plate and Ornaments. All this was done under colour of giving the Money thence

1553. thence arising to the Poor; but they had the least Share.

Edward was seized with a Defluxion upon his Lungs, which wasted him by Degrees. Some affirm downright, that a slow Poison had been given him, and threw the Suspicion of it upon the Duke of *Northumberland*; but this is all Conjecture.

The young King, who was very pious, and had excellent Qualities and Foresight, saw his Death approaching without any Fears as to himself; but he could not reflect, without an extreme Concern, on the State Religion would be in under his Sister *Mary*, who was to succeed him.

The greatest Suspicion of Poison may be inferred from the Duke's Behaviour in matching the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, his fourth Son, the only one unmarried, with *Jane Grey*, (eldest Daughter of the new Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Francis Brandon*, who was, by the late King's Will, the next Heir in Succession after the Princess *Elizabeth*) as soon as ever the Physicians told him that the King's Case was desperate, and no Hopes of Recovery.

After which the Duke told the young King, he could see no better Way to preserve the Reformation, than to alter the Succession, and settle the Crown on the Lady *Jane Grey*, his Daughter-in-law.

The Duke here was out of his Politicks; for *Elizabeth*, *Mary*'s Sister, was hearty for the Reformation: And why should the Crown be lifted over her Head to *Jane Grey*?

But

But here Intereſt muſt have ſway'd the Duke, or elſe he muſt have told the King, that if he declared *Mary* illegitimate, *Elizabeth* muſt be ſo likewiſe, ſince the Marriages of their Mothers were alike annulled. 1553.

However, this Advice took Effect, and three Judges were ſent for to draw the Settlement; who refuſed, alledging it would make them guilty of High Treaſon: But the Duke, by Threats, and the Expedient of a Pardon under the Great Seal, at length prevailed with them; ſo it was drawn and ſigned by the King and all the Judges, except *Hales*, who could not be prevailed upon. All the Privy Counſellors ſet their Hands to it likewiſe. *Cranmer* was abſent that Day, on purpoſe to avoid ſigning; but, being much importuned by the King, at laſt he ſet his Hand; but 'tis pretended he ſet it only as a Witneſs to the King's ſigning it.

This done, the King's Phyſicians were diſmiſſed, and he was put into the Hands of a Woman, who pretended to cure him. She only occaſioned him more Pain by her Medicines; and ſome ſay this was done by the Duke's Advice, to ſhorten his Days. The Duke ſent for the two Princeſſes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, to come to their Brother before he died. He intended, by this Stratagem, to have ſeized them. They were both coming; but hearing he was in his laſt Agonies, they returned back, and the Duke was diſappointed.

The King kept a Book, in which he writ

1553. the Characters of all the chief Men in the Nation, down to every Juſtice of Peace in *England*, and their Way of living, and Zeal for Religion. He ſtudied the Buſineſs of the Mint, with the Exchange and Value of Money. He alſo underſtood Fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports in his Dominions, with the Depth of Water, and Way of coming into them. He had acquired ſo great Knowledge in Foreign Affairs, that the Ambaſſadors who were ſent into *England*, publiſhed very extraordinary Things of him in all the Courts of *Europe*. He took Notes of almoſt every thing he heard; which he writ firſt in *Greek* Characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them, and afterwards copied out fair in a Journal or Diary that he kept. Few arrive to ſuch a Degree of Proficiency at his Age, being only 16 when he died.

1553.

22. MARY.

HENRY VIII's Divorce from *Catharine* of *Arragon* and *Anne Bullen*, the Acts of Parliament confirming these Divorces, other subsequent Acts which seemed to repeal what the first had decreed, the Power given to the King to appoint his Successors, and to place them in what Order he pleased; in a Word, that Prince's Last Will itself, had rendered the Business of the Succession so intricate, that it appeared to be full of Contradiction and Obscurity. It would have been impossible to resolve, by the ancient Laws and Customs of the Realm, the Queries which might arise from so many Acts, repugnant to each other; because the Makers of these new Laws were not guided by Right and Equity, but had only in view the pleasing of a Prince to whom it was dangerous to refuse any Thing.

Edward VI. compleated the putting the Affair of the Succession in extreme Confusion, by conveying the Crown to *Jane Grey*, contrary to the Rights of *Mary* and *Elizabeth*.

This was an Act of absolute Sovereignty, very unbecoming a King of *England*, and one

1553. one too that died a Minor; but beſides, in this Conveyance, there were Contradictions.

Edward owned as good and valid, the Act declaring *Mary* and *Elizabeth* to be illegitimate; but, at the ſame Time, he repealed, by his own Authority, that which gave the King his Father the Power to ſettle the Succeſſion. On the other hand, he kept to the King, his Father's Will, in giving the Preference to the younger Siſter's Children; but withall he annulled the Will, by excluding *Mary* and *Elizabeth*.

By theſe Proceedings *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, the Queen of *Scotland*, and *Jane Grey*, might each pretend to the Crown after *Edward*'s Death, and each might find Arguments in her Favour.

Mary went upon the King her Father's Will; but ſhe drew a much ſtronger Argument, in her Opinion, tho' ſhe durſt not make the beſt of it openly. It was from her natural Right, and the want of Authority in thoſe who annulled her Mother's Marriage.

The Divorce againſt *Elizabeth*'s Mother was grounded upon a Clauſe only, which was afterwards declared inſufficient; and, by the Act of the Year 1540, ſhe was reſtored to her Rights: Therefore, it was to her the Crown was devolved, if her Siſter *Mary* was incapable of ſucceeding.

The Queen of *Scotland* could plead the Illegitimation of *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and af-

affirm it was her Right to aſcend the Throne, 1553.
as Grand-daughter to *Henry* VIII.'s eldeſt Siſter.

Jane Grey had for her *Edward*'s Aſſignment, approved by all the Counſellors and Judges of the Realm; but it muſt be confeſſed it was a very ill-grounded Right.

If this Affair had been to be decided by Law and impartial Judges, many Difficulties might occur; but *Mary* and *Jane* were the only two Competitors, the other two making no Steps towards the Crown. This made well for *Mary*, becauſe her Right was put in Balance with only the weakeſt of all.

As ſoon as *Mary* heard of her Brother's Death, ſhe writ to the Council to proclaim her Queen, as ſhe had been informed of her Brother's Settlement. She added, that ſhe was ready to take all that was done in good Part, and to pardon thoſe who would have Recourſe to her Clemency.

She had retired to *Framlingham* Caſtle, and ſent Circular Letters to all the Nobility, requiring them to come and aid her in maintaining her Right.

The Duke of *Northumberland* intended to keep the King's Death private, thinking thereby to get *Mary* and *Elizabeth* into his Poſſeſſion; but finding that *Mary* had heard of it, he ſent directly to acquaint *Jane Grey* to come and be crowned. She was a Lady of excellent Merit, and underſtood perfectly well *French*, *Latin*, and *Greek*; and made Uſe of theſe Languages as Helps to come at the

1553. the Knowledge of the moſt ſublime Things in the Sciences, tho' ſhe was but 16 Years of Age. When the Meſſenger came, ſhe told him ſhe did not deſign to raiſe herſelf by the Spoils of others; that the Crown belonged to the Princeſs *Mary*, by *Henry*'s Will; then to *Elizabeth*; and ſhe was unwilling to aſpire to the Throne before her Turn.

Againſt theſe Reaſons were urged *Edward*'s and the Council's Authority, and the Judge's Approbation: At length theſe Arguments, and the Importunities of *Guilford Dudley*, her Huſband, prevailed; and the Ceremony of proclaiming was fixed to the next Day.

Mean while the Council writ an Anſwer to the Letter *Mary* had written: It was ſigned by 21 Counſellors; importing, that *Mary* could not pretend to the Crown, being born of an unlawful Marriage; and telling her, ſhe ought to own Queen *Jane* for her Sovereign, who was proclaimed with the uſual Formalities.

The Council was made up of 21 Counſellors, among whom there were few that were real Friends of the Duke of *Northumberland*: But there was not one but what ſtood in Fear of him; ſome ſtill adhering to the *Romiſh* Religion, tho' outwardly they had complied with the Laws; others were truly Proteſtants: but the major Part were of thoſe, who, without being really addicted to any Religion, blindly followed that which was uppermoſt. And one great Reaſon that leſſen'd the Council's Zeal for *Jane*, was, the

the ſlaviſh Subjection the Duke of *Northumberland* kept them in. That Lord, whoſe Pride was intolerable, could not bear Contradiction. 1553.

The reſt of the Nobility, who had no Share in the Government, were much of the ſame Mind with the Counſellors; conſequently, they earneſtly deſired to ſee him ruined; which they could not expect, as long as his Daughter-in-law was on the Throne. This made them incline to *Mary*, tho' ſhe was little beloved in the Kingdom: But ſtill the Duke of *Northumberland* was much leſs beloved; he even was become odious to the People, by reaſon of his Cruelty and unjuſt Proceedings. The *Londoners*, in particular, hated him mortally; becauſe they believed him guilty of *Edward*'s Death, and wanted to be rid of this odious Miniſter.

It is certain, tho' *Mary* had for her all thoſe who were inclined to the old Religion, yet that Party would not have been able to ſet her on the Throne, if the People's Hatred for the Duke of *Northumberland* had not determined the Proteſtants themſelves to declare for her.

Mary therefore was proclaimed Queen at *Norwich*; and the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* declared for her, and furniſhed her with Troops. The Men of *Suffolk*, tho' great Sticklers for the Reformation, ſignalized themſelves in a particular Manner on this Occaſion, upon her promiſing to leave Religion in the ſame State ſhe found it;

re-

1553. reſerving, however, to herſelf, the Liberty of profeſſing her own Religion. Many Lords and Gentlemen alſo came and offered their Service to her.

The Council hearing that *Mary* was at the Head of a ſtrong Army, ſent Orders directly to raiſe Troops; which done, the Duke of *Suffolk* was appointed to command the Army: But the Earl of *Arundel*, who only wiſhed for an Opportunity to act for *Mary*, ſeeing *Northumberland*'s Preſence was an Obſtacle, ſought Means to remove it.

He intimated to *Jane*, that the Duke of *Suffolk*, her Father, would be expoſed to great Danger; that it would be better for the Duke of *Northumberland* to head the Army; and that even his Preſence would ſtrike Terror in *Mary*'s Party, eſpecially in a County where he had already given ſingular Proofs of his Conduct and Valour.

The tender Affection *Jane* had for the Duke, her Father, cauſed her to embrace this Advice, notwithſtanding all *Northumberland* could ſay to the contrary.

He marched from *London* therefore with 2000 Horſe and 6000 Foot, without any of the Populace wiſhing him Succeſs; which ſhews how they ſtood affected to him.

The Duke of *Northumberland* was at a ſad Loſs in his March; for, inſtead of ſeeing his Army increaſe, as he expected, it daily diminiſhed by Deſertions. On the other hand, he heard that Sir *Edward Haſtings*, who ſhould have joined him with 4000 Men,

Men, had declared for *Mary*. He was likewiſe informed, that the ſix Men of War, ſent to cruize on the Coaſt of *Suffolk*, to prevent *Mary*'s eſcaping, had followed the Example of *Haſtings*, which made him write to the Council for a freſh Supply; but they were taken up with other Matters. 1553.

The News which they heard from all Parts of the good Poſture of *Mary*'s Affairs, had already made ſome of them determine to provide for their Safety, by ſhifting Sides, whilſt their Change might be of Service to them.

The Earl of *Arundel*, and ſome others of the Council, under colour of going to raiſe ſome Troops for *Northumberland*, got Leave of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was a very eaſy Man, to go out of the Tower, where they all were met to direct the Management of Affairs.

After which they met at the Earl of *Pembroke*'s; and the Earl of *Arundel* made a Speech, repreſenting to them, that then was the Time, or never, to ſhake off the Tyranny of the Duke of *Northumberland*: That they had ſufficiently experienced how arrogant, unjuſt, cruel, and treacherous, he was to his Friends: That if they were ſo unwiſe as to ſupport *Jane* on the Throne, they would only render more heavy the Yoke which the Duke had already laid on their Necks. Then they ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and all joining in the ſame Sentiments, they went together and

1553. proclaimed *Mary* in ſeveral Parts of the City. The ready Compliance of the *Londoners* can only be aſcribed to their Hatred of *Northumberland*.

Then they ſent to the Duke of *Suffolk* to deliver up the Tower, and for *Jane* to lay down her Pretenſions to the Crown. The Duke obeyed immediately, ſeeing no other Method adviſable. *Jane* alſo obeyed with Joy, as it never was her Inclination to aſſume the Crown. Then they ſent Orders to the Duke of *Northumberland* to diſband his Army, and become an obedient Subject to *Mary*.

At the ſame Time the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget* ſet out to inform *Mary* of what had paſſed.

This News having reached the Duke of *Northumberland*, before the Council's Orders to diſband, he had already diſmiſſed his Troops: And thinking to ingratiate himſelf into *Mary*'s Favour, he went to the Market-place in *Cambridge*, and proclaimed the Queen, throwing up his own Hat, and crying, *God ſave Queen* Mary; but the next Day the Earl of *Arundel* arreſted him by the Queen's Order.

He fell at the Earl of *Arundel*'s Feet to beg his Favour, and ſhewed many Signs of Fear. Three of his Sons, the Earl of *Warwick*, his eldeſt, *Ambroſe* and *Henry*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, his Brother, *John* and *Henry Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Dr *Sands*, were

were apprehended with him, and all ſent to the Tower. 1553.

She ſent alſo to the Tower *Jane Grey*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, *Cheek*, who had been *Edward*'s Preceptor, *Robert Dudley*, another of *Northumberland*'s Sons, *Guilford Dudley*, *Jane*'s Huſband, *Cholmley* and *Montague*, Judges. *Suffolk* was ſet at Liberty, to ſhew her Clemency, thinking him a Perſon not capable of doing her any Harm.

Then ſhe enter'd *London*, and ſoon after went to the Tower, and releaſed the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Courtney*, who ſhe ſoon after created Earl of *Devonſhire*.

Her firſt Intent was to eſtabliſh the old Religion. To that End ſhe had already determined to ſend for Cardinal *Pole*, as Legate, to reconcile *England* to the Pope: But, in conſulting proper Methods, *Gardiner*, who was looked upon as a Man of great Experience, was of Opinion, that the beſt Way was to ſet it up by Degrees; and, if ſhe would be pleaſed to make him Chancellor, it would give him a proper Authority to conduct ſo nice an Affair.

Mary came not into this at firſt; upon which the Emperor was conſulted, and *Gardiner* ſo managed Matters with him, that he perſuaded the Queen to it, and, at length, ſhe gave *Gardiner* the Great Seal. *Gardiner* had likewiſe his own Intereſt at Heart, in hindering Cardinal *Pole*'s coming to *England*, be-

1553. becauſe he was a great Favourite of the Queen.

The ſame Day the Queen in Council declared, that ſhe would uſe no Force upon Mens' Conſciences in Affairs of Religion. Great Care was taken to diſperſe this Declaration, and to magnify it, as a great Inſtance of Goodneſs and Generoſity; tho' this was not coming up to the Promiſe ſhe had made to the Proteſtants, that the Religion, as eſtabliſhed, ſhould not be altered.

The Duke of *Northumberland*, and the reſt of the Lords and Gentlemen, were brought upon their Trials; but ſeeing it to no Purpoſe to make a Defence, they pleaded guilty, and threw themſelves upon the Queen's Mercy. The Duke, Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, were ſoon after executed. The Duke, perhaps out of Hopes of a Pardon, declared he was a Papiſt from his Heart, and perſiſted in this till he died.

The Queen was ſtill eager to promote the old Religion. All the Biſhops which had been depoſed by *Edward* were reſtored, and the reformed Biſhops turned out. Some Proteſtant Biſhops oppoſing this, were ſent to Priſon. *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and *Coverdale*, of *Exeter*, were in this Number.

The Roman Catholicks ſeeing what Way the Queen drove, had not Patience to wait for the Reſtoration of their Religion by Publick Authority, but boldly celebrated divine Service in different Places after their own

own Way; and tho' it was acting contrary to Law, the Court took no Notice. 1553.

Hales, who was the only Judge that refuſed to ſign the Act which transferred the Crown to *Jane Grey*, was fined 1000 *l.* for having ordered the Juſtices of *Kent* to conform to the Laws of *Edward* not yet repealed, or rather for being a Proteſtant. This Ingratitude threw him into a Melancholy, and he drown'd himſelf.

Cranmer was the Perſon whoſe Ruin was now aimed at. *Bonner* had given out, that he had offered to the Queen a ſolemn Abjuration of his Errors. *Cranmer* denied this, and offered to maintain publickly the Truth of what he profeſſed, if the Queen would give him Leave.

Bonner thought this Snare he had led him into would undo him. He was cited into the Star-chamber, where he owned what he had ſaid: But, contrary to all Expectation, he was diſmiſſed without Puniſhment. The Queen herſelf owed her Life to him, which was ſaved merely by his Solicitation, when her Father *Henry* had deſigned to put her to Death.

After which his Enemies told the Queen, that if ſhe treated with Mildneſs the Chief of the Hereticks, they would all grow obſtinate and inſolent; but the Puniſhment of *Cranmer* would intimidate the Champions of Hereſy.

This Advice was agreeable to the Queen, who had a Hatred to the Archbiſhop, for pro-

1553. pronouncing the Sentence of Divorce againſt the Queen, her Mother; which had made a ſtronger Impreſſion upon her than the Services received from him afterwards: Wherefore, three Days after, he was ſent to the Tower; as alſo the aged *Latimer*, who had been Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Shortly after, the Court came to a Reſolution of making all Strangers that were Proteſtants quit the Realm. This was the only Act of Clemency which appeared under this Reign with Reference to Religion.

The Meaſures taken by the Court before the repealing of any Law, ſo intimidated thoſe who had Religion at Heart, that ſeveral left the Realm. Thoſe who avoided the Tempeſt threatened, were the wiſeſt and happieſt; but a Stop was put to it by ſecuring the Ports.

The Queen conferred on all thoſe that had been her Friends new Dignities and Offices. The Earl of *Suſſex*, who had been her General, obtained a Patent to ſit covered in the Preſence of the Queen; an Honour unuſual in *England*, tho' practiſed in *Spain*.

The Parliament being to ſit ſhortly, the Queen was crowned. The ſame Day an Act of Grace was publiſhed; but clogged with ſo many Exceptions, that few Perſons received any Benefit from it.

Before the Parliament met, the Archbiſhop of *York* was ſent to the Tower on a general Accuſation. This was with a View

to

to ſtrengthen the Catholick Cauſe in the Upper Houſe. 1553.

The Court had reſolved to abrogate all the Laws which had been made in favour of the Reformation, and to reſtore the ancient Religion. If Elections for the Commons had been left free, it would have been difficult for the Queen to ſucceed, the Number of the Reformed being much greater in the Nation; but, beſides the ordinary Ways made Uſe of by Kings to have Parliaments at their Devotion, all ſorts of Artifices, Frauds, and even Violences, were put in Practice, to carry this Election in favour of the Court.

It is ſtrange, all the Lords, except about ſeven or eight, who were all Proteſtants in the late Reign, were now become Papiſts; ſo much doth Intereſt carry the Sway; ſo that ſhe had little Oppoſition from that Houſe: Nay, the Biſhops were all changed except two, *Taylor*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *Harley* of *Hereford*; and theſe were drove from the Houſe, for refuſing to kneel at the Celebration of the Maſs.

The Parliament being met, the Divorce of the Queen's Mother was immediately repealed. This Act was diſpatched in fewer Hours than *Henry* had taken Years in procuring the Divorce. Certainly the Time was now come to make *Gardiner* bluſh, who was the Promoter of this Divorce, and now the Promoter of the Repeal.

The Princeſs *Elizabeth* being thus a ſecond

1553. cond Time declared illegitimate, by an Act which reſtored Queen *Mary*, found a great Change in the Behaviour of the Queen, who no longer ſhewed her any Affection. It is ſaid there was another ſecret Cauſe which alienated the Queen from her, and that was her Love for the Earl of *Devonſhire*, whom the Queen had Thoughts of marrying.

This Parliament made void the Laws of *Edward* concerning Religion; and the Form of Worſhip was to be the ſame that it was in the latter End of the Reign of *Henry* VIII. Thus *Gardiner*'s Advice prevailed, to reſtore the old Religion by Degrees.

Another Act ordained Puniſhment for thoſe who ſhould prophane the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, or throw down Croſſes, Crucifixes, and Images.

In this Seſſions the Act of Attainder againſt the Duke of *Norfolk* was reverſed. This Attainder paſſed in *Henry* VIII.'s Reign; and it was ſaid, in favour of the Reverſal, that neceſſary Formalities were wanting.

King *Henry*'s Laws were not yet to be touched, becauſe they had Difficulties which could not be got over, without firſt laying them before the Pope.

Then *Jane Gray*, *Guilford Dudley*, her Huſband, two Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and *Cranmer*, were brought to their Trial. They all confeſſed their Indictments,

dictments, and received Sentence of Death as Traitors. 1553.

The Emperor had propoſed his Son *Philip* in Marriage with *Mary*. Tho' this was to be kept ſecret, it came to the Knowledge of the Houſe of Commons; who were ſo alarmed, that they ſent a Deputation of 20 of their Members, with the Speaker at their Head, to pray the Queen to lay aſide the Thought of marrying herſelf with a Foreign Prince. She refuſed Satisfaction to their Demand, and ſwore to diſſolve the Parliament.

Gardiner ſeeing this, acquainted the Emperor, that there were ſome Conditions to be complied with, before the Marriage could be brought about. The firſt was, to conſent to ſuch Conditions in the Treaty of Marriage, ſo advantageous to *England*, that the moſt zealous Oppoſers of the Marriage could have nothing to reply. The ſecond was, to remit conſiderable Sums, to be applied as it might appear neceſſary for bringing the Marriage about.

The Emperor not at all doubting *Gardiner*'s Zeal for his Intereſt, left it to him to preſcribe the Conditions, and remitted him 1,200,000 Crowns to be diſpoſed of as he thought fit. *Gardiner* even denied all Juſtice in the Court of Chancery to thoſe Perſons who would not blindly engage to ſecond the Queen's Intentions.

The Parliament being devoted to the Court, there was but ſix Members that durſt

1554. oppoſe the Deciſion made in favour of Tranſubſtantiation. The ſix Members demanded a regular Diſputation on this Subject, and had it granted; but three of them declined the Diſpute, foreſeeing what would be the Reſult. The other three kept firm: But the Roman Catholicks, for want of better Arguments, received thoſe of their Adverſaries with Shouts, Menaces, and continual Interruptions; and then publiſhed, that they were vanquiſhed.

In the Beginning of the Year 1554, a magnificent Ambaſſy arrived at *London* from the Emperor, with the Count of *Egmont* (a brave General) at the Head of it, to regulate the Conditions of the Marriage.

The Queen intruſted *Gardiner* with the Management of this Negotiation, or rather with the Care of drawing the Treaty, as in all Appearance every thing material was ſettled before the Ambaſſador's Arrival.

Gardiner had two principal Deſigns in view. The firſt was to have ſuch Conditions inſerted as the Parliament might approve. The ſecond was, to provide that *England* ſhould never come under the Dominion of *Spain*.

So the Articles ran, That *Philip* ſhould only have the bare Title of King of *England* while the Marriage ſubſiſted: That the Queen likewiſe ſhould bear the Title belonging to her Huſband, and have the full Diſpoſal of the Revenues, Places, and Matters of State.

That

That the Children which ſhould be born from this Bed ſhould inherit their Mother's Eſtate, according to the Cuſtom of the reſpective Countries. 1554.

That *Philip* ſhould make no Alteration in the Laws, Rights, Cuſtoms, and Statutes of *England*.

That if the Queen ſhould die without Iſſue, he ſhould pretend to no Right in *England*, but leave the Succeſſion to the rightful Heir.

That *England* ſhould never, by virtue of this Marriage, be concern'd in any War between *France* and *Spain*; but that the Alliance between *England* and *France* ſhould ſubſiſt, and remain in full Force. Theſe were the principal Articles which related to *England*.

It is difficult to diſcover what Advantage *England* could receive by this Marriage; but the Miniſter had in it his own private Views: For as Cardinal *Pole* had been ſent for, he got a Stop put to his coming, till this was brought about. He was afraid of the Cardinal's becoming Prime Miniſter; but he thought he could ſupport himſelf in that Office, under the Protection of *Philip*: beſides, the Reſtoration of the *Roman* Religion was thought to be eaſier brought about by the Aſſiſtance of *Spain*.

The Day after the Treaty was ſigned, the Queen granted a Pardon to the Marquis of *Northampton*, who had been condemned with the Duke of *Northumberland*.

Com-

1554. Complaints and Murmurs were every where heard againſt this Marriage. The Proteſtants in particular believed themſelves loſt, and feared to ſee erected in *England* a *Spaniſh* Inquiſition. None did believe the Emperor had agreed to the Articles ſtipulated, with a Deſign to keep them.

The Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, and Sir *Peter Carew* of *Cornwall*, formed the Deſign of a general Inſurrection. *Carew* was to act in *Cornwall*, *Wyat* in *Kent*, and the Duke in *Warwickſhire*.

Carew behaved ſo ill, that his Plot was diſcovered before he had well concerted his Affairs. This ſent him into *France*; and one of his Accomplices was taken.

Wyat, nevertheleſs, proceeded in his Deſign; and he not being in readineſs, repaired to *Maidſtone* with a Handful of Men. He gave out, that he took up Arms to prevent a deſigned Invaſion of *England*.

This Rebellion alarmed the Court, which had nothing in readineſs to diſſipate it, as the Queen had diſmiſſed her Forces. This determined her to ſend a Herald to *Wyat*, with a full Pardon to himſelf and Followers, provided they, in 24 Hours, laid down their Arms; but he refuſed.

The Queen being unprepared, was obliged to put the Duke of *Norfolk* at the Head of 600 of the City Train'd-bands.

The Sheriff of *Kent* was going to join the Duke of *Norfolk*, and in his Way defeated *Knevet*, who was going to join *Wyat*. This made

made *Wyat* take a Reſolution to conſult his own Safety. 1554.

But Sir *George Harper*, one of his Partizans, in a pretended Deſertion of his Cauſe, went to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſo managed the Train'd-bands, that he brought them over to the Cauſe of the Rebels; and, by a general Concert, they quitted the Duke, and joined *Wyat*.

This made *Wyat*, with ſome others that joined him, 4000 ſtrong; ſo they marched directly for *London*.

The Queen ſent again to *Wyat* to know his Demands. He demanded the Tower, and the Queen's Perſon, to be put into his Hands, and a Change in the Council, ſuch as he ſhould propoſe; but this was rejected.

Wyat having reached *London*, intended to enter the City, his Army being now 6000: But *Harper*, who had been ſo ſerviceable to to him, deſerted, and went and informed the Court of it.

This Advice came ſeaſonably to the Earl of *Pembroke* and Lord *Clinton*, who, at the Head of ſome Troops, reſolved to engage him as he enter'd the City.

Wyat continued in his Error, that the Citizens wiſhed well to his Undertaking: So marching through the *Strand* in his Way to *Ludgate*, Care was taken to block up the Way behind him to hinder his Retreat; and when he came to the City Gate, he found it ſhut. Then he diſcovered his Danger, and perceiving it impoſſible to retire, loſt all his

1554. his Courage. As he was endeavouring to return, a Herald at Arms came to him, and exhorting him not to throw ſo many Lives away, he ſurrendered quietly, and was ſent to Priſon. After *Wyat* ſurrendered, his Men diſperſed, and were taken at Pleaſure, and filled the City Priſons.

The Duke of *Suffolk*, who had not been in a Readineſs to join *Wyat*, was diſcovered to be in the Plot, by an Expreſs being ſeized, which was ſent from *Wyat* to him, to inform him of the Reaſons why he haſtened the Undertaking, and to pray him to make all poſſible Expedition. Upon this Advice he was arreſted, and ſent to the Tower.

This Inſurrection produced two conſiderable Effects; one fatal to an illuſtrious and innocent Perſon, and the other to all Proteſtants; tho' Religion had no Share in this Conſpiracy, *Wyat* himſelf being a Papiſt; and the Queen, in her Proclamation on this Subject, laid no Part of it to the Charge of the Proteſtants.

Two Days after the taking of *Wyat*, a Meſſage was ſent to *Jane Grey* and her Huſband to prepare for Death. *Jane* received the Meſſage with great Reſolution.

She ſignified to the Meſſenger, that ſhe was well aſſured that the Jealouſy of the Government would not pardon her; and therefore, ſhe had employ'd her whole Time after her Commitment in a Preparation for Death. She was exhorted to change her Re-

Religion, and become Papiſt; but her Reſolution was ſteady againſt it. Some think, if the Duke of *Suffolk* had not made this Attempt, that the Queen would have been merciful to his Daughter: But, as ſuch Numbers were put to Death during *Mary*'s Reign, merely for their Religion, it is not at all likely, ſince *Jane* was firmly attached to the Proteſtant Religion. She, her Huſband, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, were all executed. She teſtified, to the laſt Moment, a great Conſtancy in her Sufferings, great Piety, and an immoveable Adherence to the Reformation. 1554.

At laſt *Wyat*'s Turn came. When he was brought before his Judges, he offered to make great Diſcoveries, if his Life might be ſaved. He accuſed even the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, as Accomplices in his Conſpiracy, tho' this did not prevent his Sentence, as he expected; it only gained him two Months Time, in Hopes of further Diſcoveries. Upon this they were both ſent to the Tower.

Soon after *Bret*, who was chief Commander of *Wyat*'s Forces, was hanged, with 58 more. Some Days after, 600 Priſoners, with Ropes about their Necks, waited on the Queen, and received their Pardon.

An Affair happened at the ſame Time, which filled the People with Fear. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* being accuſed and tryed as an Accomplice in this Conſpiracy, was acquitted by the Jury, for want of ſufficient Proof.

1554. Proof. For this the Jury was ſeverely fined. This deprived the Jury, as far as it could, of the Liberty of purſuing the Light of their Conſciences; and inſtead of being governed by Proofs, they were to examine how the Court ſtood affected to the Priſoners, and by that determine their Sentence.

This Rigour exerciſed upon the Jury was fatal to Sir *John Throgmorton*, his Brother, who was found guilty upon the ſame Proofs.

Wyat finding he was ſtill to die, upon his ſecond Examination cleared *Elizabeth* and *Devonſhire*; and, for fear of having his laſt Examination ſuppreſſed, he renewed it at the Place of Execution.

However, by *Gardiner*'s Malice, a Warrant was procured, ſigned by ſome Privy Counſellors, for her Execution: But the Lieutenant of the Tower, by an Application to the Queen, to know what was her Pleaſure, and her denying any Knowledge of the Warrant, ſaved the Life of the Princeſs. Had the Queen immediately diſplaced *Gardiner*, ſhe might have been thought innocent of ſo barbarous a Deſign.

The Queen now determined the utter Deſtruction of the Reformation. For this Purpoſe ſhe gave Inſtructions to her Biſhops to viſit the ſeveral Dioceſes. Their Inſtructions, drawn up by *Gardiner*, contained a bitter Narration of all the pretended Diſorders introduced into the Church in *Edward*'s Reign. She afterwards gave the Chan-

Chancellor a particular Order to purge the Church of all married Biſhops and Prieſts. 1554.

Gardiner, by virtue of this Order, deprived ſeveral Biſhops. As to other Eccleſiaſticks of inferior Degrees, of 16,000 which were in *England*, more than three Fourths were deprived for having Wives; which ſhews ſufficiently the Alteration made in the Church.

The Parliament being ſhortly to be called, great Care was taken to get Perſons devoted to the Court. *Gardiner* had Money in his Hands to ſecure the Electors. The Court had in view the intended Marriage; and alſo to reſtore the Pope's Authority.

But moſt of the Roman Catholicks who believed Tranſubſtantiation, Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Images, *&c.* were, nevertheleſs, perſuaded that the Pope's Authority was by no Means neceſſary to the Church, and were all content with its Aboliſhment. To have Men therefore returned proper for the Deſigns of the Court, or to gain thoſe who were not ſo complying, *Gardiner* uſed all his Intereſt with the Emperor and Queen to obtain from them a Promiſe of Penſions. This was done with ſo little Caution, that, with regard to a great Number of Members, every Man's Price was known.

This Parliament was ſo obſequious to the Queen's Will, that ſhe was ſometimes even obliged to check the impetuous Zeal of the Commons.

1554. *Gardiner*, to prevent *Philip* from wresting the Government out of the Queen's Hands, got it enacted, that the Royal Prerogative should be lodged in the Person that wore the Crown, whether Man or Woman. The Example of *Henry* VII. furnished a just Ground to this Fear. That Prince had at first no other Pretensions to the Crown, than from the Marriage which he had promised to contract with *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edward* IV.

But when he found himself sufficiently fortified by Possession, he then resolved to reign independent of his Wife, as Heir to the House of *Lancaster*. *Philip* might have play'd the same Game, as he was descended from the same House; so here *Gardiner* consulted at once the Interest of the Nation and his own: For if *Philip* had had the Administration of Affairs, probably the Prime Minister must have been a *Spaniard*.

The Emperor had already published a Genealogy of *Philip*, which derived him from a Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and so of *Edward* III. *Gardiner* therefore thought it high Time to break the *Spanish* Measures.

This Sessions the Bishoprick of *Durham* was restored to its ancient Rights.

The Parliament approved of the Treaty of Marriage between the Queen and *Philip*; but *Gardiner* had the Articles enlarged, by which the Queen was singly to have the Government of the Kingdom.

The

The Court ordered another Diſputation in Points of Religion at *Oxford*. If the Court had intended to act with Sincerity, Choice would never have been made of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* by the Court, who were Priſoners in the Tower, to diſpute on the Proteſtant Side; but it was reſolved to confound them by ſomething elſe than Arguments: They therefore were ſent to *Oxford*. This Diſputation was managed as the former had been at *London*. The three Prelates were forced to Silence by continual Interruptions and Noiſes, ſo loud, that they could not be heard. From whence it was inferred, that they were vanquiſhed. After which they were ſummoned to make a publick Abjuration of their pretended Errors, and, upon their Refuſal, excommunicated. 1554.

Prince *Philip* arrived in *England*, and his Marriage with the Queen was performed by *Gardiner*. The ſame Day they were proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, and *Jeruſalem*; the Emperor having juſt before made him a Preſent of the two laſt.

Philip, deſirous to gain the Affections of the *Engliſh*, began with Acts of Clemency; the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was the principal. *Gardiner* was for removing her out of the Way on any Terms; but *Philip* interceeded for *Elizabeth*, and delivered her from this Danger. By his Interceſſion alſo, ten Knights and

1554. and the Archbiſhop of *York*, where pardoned.

Philip's grave and reſerved Air gave great Diſguſt to the *Engliſh*. None came into his or the Queen's Preſence, without a formal Demand of an Audience, as is practiſed by Ambaſſadors. The Nobility did not like to conform to Cuſtoms ſo oppoſite to their own.

The Parliament was ſummoned; but the Queen omitted her Title of ſupreme Head of the Church. Cardinal *Pole* was ſent for, and arrived in *England*, as the Pope's Legate, before the Parliament met. He laid before the King, Queen, and both Houſes, the Subject of his Legation. This, he ſaid, was to bring back to the Fold of Chriſt ſo many Sheep as had gone aſtray.

The Queen was ſo moved on this Occaſion, that ſhe fancied ſhe felt a Child ſtir in her Womb. This News was ſpread every where. Some Flatterers recalled the leaping of St *John Baptiſt* in his Mother's Womb for Joy on the Approach of Jeſus Chriſt, and applied to this Occaſion, and ſaid, That the Queen's Child thus leaped on the Approach of the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, ſpeaking by the Mouth of his Legate; but a little Time diſcovered it was Fancy.

Then was repealed all the Laws made againſt the Pope's Authority; and, having given a ſolemn Abſolution, which was received by both Houſes on their Knees, he took off all the Papal Cenſures.

There

There were ſome Reſtrictions, that the Biſhopricks, Cathedral Churches, and Colleges, ſhould remain in their preſent Condition; and that the Alienations of the Lands and Goods of the Church ſhould be authorized, and the Poſſeſſors ſubjected to no Cenſures or Proſecutions on this Subject. 1554.

The Legate agreed to theſe Reſtrictions; but denounced, nevertheleſs, the Judgments of God againſt all thoſe who poſſeſſed the Goods of the Church.

After the Legate had informed the Pope what was done, he inſiſted upon a Reſtitution of the Goods that belonged to the Church; and that the Poſſeſſors of the Church Lands ſhould be accountable for the Rents they had received from thence; and that the Queen ſhould interceed for the bringing about of this Affair, and to give them a Diſpenſation for the future Enjoyment of the Lands.

The Pope made his Demands in ſuch ambiguous Terms, that it was eaſy to perceive he was puſhing for the old Eſtabliſhment, without any Reſtriction.

The Parliament paſſed an Act to renew thoſe which had been made under *Richard* II. *Henry* IV. and *Henry* V. againſt Hereticks, the Proteſtants having again in this Reign commenced that Name.

It was diſputed in Council, whether the Proteſtants were to be uſed with Moderation, and brought over by Degrees, or to uſe Ri-

1555. Rigour. The Cardinal was for the firſt Method; but *Gardiner* for the latter.

The Queen, who was a flaming Bigot, went into *Gardiner*'s Opinion: But, to let *Pole* ſee that his Councils were not wholly neglected, ſhe took upon herſelf to reform the Clergy, and left to *Gardiner* the Care to extirpate Hereſy.

The Reſolution being taken to put in Execution, with full Vigour, the Laws made againſt Proteſtants, *Gardiner* chearfully took the Care of it upon himſelf. For this purpoſe he reſolved to begin with *Hooper* and *Rogers*. The firſt had been Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; the other was a Clergyman, who ſhone amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Reformed. They were the firſt Martyrs of this Reign. At the Stake where they were burnt, it was offered to ſave their Lives, if they would recant; but ſo far were they from ſuch a Thought, that they ſaid, *They reſigned their Lives with Joy, in Teſtimony of the Doctrines they had preached.*

Saunders and *Taylor*, two other Clergymen, were the next. *Taylor* was put into a pitched Barrel; and, before the Fire was kindled, a Faggot, from an unknown Hand, thrown at his Head, made it ſtream with Blood; which was thought very remarkable.

Gardiner finding himſelf diſappointed, in extorting the Recantations he expected, transferred to *Bonner* his Commiſſion, to avoid, in ſome meaſure, a publick Hatred.

The

The Biſhops themſelves ſeemed aſhamed, 1555.
ſince, in a ſolemn Aſſembly, they declared they had no Hand in theſe Barbarities: So that all the Hatred (which extended through the whole Nation) turned upon the King and Queen; and particularly the King, who had been bred in a Country where the Inquiſition reigned.

Philip being made ſenſible of the Outcries of the People againſt him, upon this Declaration of the Biſhops, ordered his Confeſſor to preach before him; who, in the Face of the whole Court, charged the Biſhops with the Cruelties complained of by the whole Kingdom. He even made them a Challenge to produce, in the whole Scriptures, one Paſſage which gave Authority to Chriſtians to burn Men, for Matters purely conſcientious. Thus each ſtrove to avoid the Blame, which occaſioned the Fires to be extinguiſhed for ſome Weeks.

However, *Bonner*, who had now the Commiſſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a Fury unbecoming not only a Clergyman and a Chriſtian, but even a *Cannibal*. He continued the Execution upon the Proteſtants with a Barbarity which ſhewed clearly, that it needed no Compulſion. The Biſhops condemned, without Mercy, all who came before them; and the Civil Magiſtrates executed the Sentence with a Rigour uncommanded by the Laws.

Elizabeth, who had been preſerved at the Interceſſion of *Philip*, retired, without concerning herſelf publickly in any Affairs of Re-

1555. Religion, for fear of giving Offence. Her Anſwer to the dangerous Queſtions concerning Chriſt's real Preſence in the Sacrament, has ſomething in it at once artful and ſolid:

Chriſt was the Word that ſpake it;
He took the Bread and brake it;
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

The Queen giving thoſe flaming Proofs of her Zeal for the *Romiſh* Religion, felt a Load on her Conſcience which ſhe was no longer able to bear; that was, the keeping of the Goods of the Church which ſhe had in her Poſſeſſion. She ſent therefore for the Cardinal, and gave him a Catalogue of ſuch Goods as yet remained in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, to be employ'd to ſuch Uſes as the Pope ſhould judge proper.

The Pope being dead a little before, Cardinal *Caraffa* was made Pope, by the Name of *Paul* IV. who was more haughty than any of his Predeceſſors. He told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at his Court, that he expected a full Reſtitution of all that had been taken from the Church; and that he intended to have the Payment of St *Peter's Pence* continued, and would ſend a Receiver for that Purpoſe. He told them, that the *Engliſh* were not to expect to have the Gates of Heaven open'd for them by St *Peter*, who detained from him his Patrimony on Earth.

Bonner, whether out of Fear or ſome other Mo-

Motive, had moderated his Fury. This Conduct drew from the King and Queen a ſevere Letter to him; in which, after teſtifying their Surprize, they exhorted him to proceed without any Relaxation. This ſhews the King and Queen were as furious for the Perſecution as the Biſhops. 1555.

Upon which *Bradford*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, were ordered to be burnt. The Behaviour of theſe Prelates was comparable to any thing left upon Record of the Primitive Martyrs. They let the Spectators underſtand, that it could be nothing but the Gift of Heaven that inſpired them with ſuch Firmneſs, and animated them againſt the approaching Agonies. They propheſied, that they ſhould light ſuch a Candle in *England*, as, by the Grace of God, would never be extinguiſhed.

In the Courſe of this Year 67 Perſons were burnt; amongſt whom were four Biſhops, and 13 other Eccleſiaſticks.

At the Time of this Execution of the three Prelates, the Queen was expected every Day to be delivered; but this pretended Pregnancy went off, at laſt, in a falſe Conception. *Philip* had only married in Hopes of having Children by the Queen, and, by that, to unite *England* with the Monarchy of *Spain*: But the Phyſicians having declared their Opinion, that there was no Proſpect of having any Children, he grew weary of his Wife, who had neither Youth nor Beauty,

1555. and went over into *Flanders*, leaving the Queen ſufficiently mortified.

A ſtrict Enquiry was made after thoſe who had pillaged the Churches and Monaſteries in *Henry* VIII.'s Time; and the Queen drew large Sums from thoſe Men, to eſcape from a ſeverer Puniſhment.

The Parliament met, but did nothing conſiderable, beſides the making an Act to approve and confirm the Queen's Reſignation of the Firſt-fruits and Tenths. This Parliament, whether their Penſions were withdrawn, or their Conſciences pricked them for the Cruelties committed, ſeemingly reſolved to comply with no Orders given by the Court; tho' another Reaſon may be added, the cruel *Gardiner* died at the Beginning of this Seſſions. He ſaid, the Day that the three Prelates were burnt, *That he would not dine till he received the News of their Deaths.* He having the News brought, dined with a good Appetite; and after Dinner was ſeized with a Retention of Urine, which carried him to his Grave. He had not put off the Execution of *Cranmer*, but upon Hopes of Cardinal *Pole*'s being recalled; and then he thought to be made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by putting *Cranmer* to Death.

The Great Seal was delivered to *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*.

The Abſence of *Philip*, and *Gardiner*'s Death, did not hinder the Fires from being lighted up again for the burning the Proteſtants. This proves, that *Philip* and *Gardiner*

diner were not the only Authors of these Violences; but that the Source of them was in the Queen's furious Bigotry. 1556.

It was about this Time that *Charles* V. resigned all his *Spanish* Dominions to *Philip*; and the following Year he resigned the Imperial Dignity to his Brother *Ferdinand*.

Cranmer was now condemned to be burnt; and so many Snares were laid to overcome the Constancy of this Prelate, that, in Hopes of saving his Life, which was promised, he yielded to sign an Abjuration.

But the Queen, who, nevertheless, had determined his Death, signed a Warrant for burning him as a Heretick. It was then that *Cranmer* came to himself; and, full of Confusion and Shame, retracted at the Stake, and resolved to have the Hand that signed the Abjuration burnt first. He held it extended in the Fire till it dropt off, crying out, *Thou unworthy Hand!* Then he was observed to beat upon his Breast with the other. His Heart was found entire in the Ashes, after his whole Body was consumed, which occasioned divers Reflections. *Pole* was consecrated to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* to the very Day of his Death, and had the Words of *Elijah* applied to him, *Thou hast killed and taken Possession.*

All the rest of this Year was a continual and violent Persecution of the Protestants. No less than 85 perished by *Bonner*'s Barbarity;

1557. rity; Women themſelves were not ſpared, nor even the innocent Infants.

One Woman big with Child being ſent to the Flames, the Violence of them burſting her Womb, and diſcharging the Child into the Fire, ſome Spectators humanely ſnatched it out; but the Magiſtrate who attended the Execution ordered it to be thrown back.

The Queen now begun to repair the old Monaſteries, and erect new ones. She was alſo for reſtoring the religious Houſes: But the Parliament, upon hearing a Propoſal to that Purpoſe, laid their Hands upon their Swords, and boldly ſaid, *They well knew how to defend their own Properties.* This put a Stop to it.

Nevertheleſs, ſhe gave a Commiſſion to *Bonner* and ſome others, to raze out of the publick Records all that had been done by *Henry* VIII. againſt the Monks and the Pope. This made the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of that Time very defective.

In *January* 1557, *Pole* viſited both the Univerſities. While he was at *Cambridge*, *Bucer* and *Fagius*, two *German* Divines, dead ſome Years before, were ridiculouſly cited before the Commiſſioners to give an Account of their Faith, and, in Default, both were condemned to be burnt. A Warrant was ſent for to the Court for that Purpoſe, and the two Bodies in their Coffins were burnt to Aſhes.

At *Oxford*, the Wife of *Peter Martyr* was dug out of her Grave, by Order of the Legate,

gate, and buried in a Dunghill, becauſe, being a Nun, ſhe had broken her Vow. He intended to have proceeded againſt the Body for being a Heretick; but as ſhe could not, in all her Life, ſpeak *Engliſh*, no Witneſs could be got to prove the Hereſy. If they had proceeded in this Method with all the dead Bodies of Proteſtants, they might have had Buſineſs enough, leſs criminal than the Perſecution. 1557.

The Magiſtrates, weary of ſuch Cruelties, fell off their Zeal of perſecuting the Hereticks. This made the Queen reſolve to erect an Inquiſition in *England*, upon the Model of that in *Spain*; and ſhe even gave a Commiſſion to 21 Commiſſioners to ſit upon Trials of Hereſy, and to condemn at their own Diſcretion. This was followed by a Perſecution, in which 79 Proteſtants periſhed.

Philip being at War with *France*, on account of his *Spaniſh* Territories, uſed all Means poſſible to obtain an Aid of *Mary*, tho' contrary to the Marriage Agreement, and came over to *England* for that Purpoſe. Shortly after his Arrival, the Queen declared War againſt *France*, and gave *Philip* an Aid of 8000 *Engliſh*, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who went to join the *Spaniſh* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Savoy*. After this *Philip* departed, and returned to *Bruſſels*.

In the Battle of St *Laurence*, the Duke of *Savoy* routed the *French* Army, commanded by

1557. by the Conſtable, killed 2500 Men, and took him Priſoner. *France* loſt a great Number of Princes and Noblemen in this Battle. The Conſternation was ſo great in *France*, that the Duke of *Savoy*, if he had puſhed this Victory, might have become Maſter of *France*. The *French* threw all the Blame upon the Pope, who had been the Occaſion of breaking the Truce between *France* and *Spain*.

The Pope was in ſuch a Fury that *England* had declared War againſt *France*, that he re-called *Pole* from his Office of Legate, as if he had been the Occaſion, or could have hindered it: But, upon a Treaty of Peace being made between the Pope and *Spain*, wherein the Pope left *France* involved in the whole Difficulty, tho' at firſt he had joined with *Henry*, *Pole* was reſtored to his Office.

Henry ſeeing himſelf thus oppreſſed, ſent to the Queen Regent of *Scotland* to break the Peace with *England*, and enter the Frontiers. *Henry* alſo ſent Ambaſſadors to ſettle the Articles of Marriage between the Dauphin and young Queen of *Scotland*.

This laid the Queen under great Difficulties how to raiſe Money to guard againſt *Scotland*, and to ſupport the War with *France*. Her Treaſure was exhauſted; and ſhe durſt not aſk the Parliament, for fear they would inſiſt, that ſhe ſhould remit her Severities againſt the Proteſtants.

Philip ſent word to *England*, that the *French* intended to beſiege *Calais*; and offered *Mary*, that

that he would reinforce the Garriſon for her Preſervation. 1558.

This was handled before the Council, who looked upon it as an Artifice of *Philip*'s to put himſelf in Poſſeſſion of that Place; therefore, tho' the Governor, Lord *Wentworth*, applied for Aid, yet none was ſent.

However, the Fact was, that the *French* actually laid Siege, and carried the Place for want of a ſtronger Garriſon. Thus were the Queen and whole Council overſeen; and, in leſs than 15 Days, the *Engliſh* loſt the whole Remainder of their ancient Conqueſt in *France*, by the Incapacity in the Queen, who had a Head only turned to ruin the Proteſtants.

The Loſs of *Calais* made great Noiſe in *England*. *Wentworth* was tried for Treachery or Cowardice, but acquitted; ſo the whole Blame lay upon the Queen and Council.

The Greatneſs of this Loſs has ſtill been more ſenſibly felt in ſucceeding Times. From this unhappy Period, *England* has met with none of thoſe Reſpects and Submiſſions from *France* which ſhe commanded before. By having this Town, the *Engliſh* could, in 24 Hours, land great Armies in that Kingdom.

The Parliament being met, granted the Queen a Subſidy, but with great Reluctancy. They complained againſt the pernicious Councils of the Miniſters, who had exhauſted the Queen's Treaſury, by influencing her to a Reſtitution of the Goods of the Church,

and

1558 by ... the Erection of new Monaſteries. The Loſs of *Calais* alſo bore heavy upon their Minds.

This Seſſions *Ambroſe* and *Robert Dudley*, Sons to the late Earl of *Northumberland*, were reſtored to their Honours.

The Dauphin was married to the young Queen of *Scotland*. It was with great Difficulty the *Scots* were brought to it; but it was with a Condition that he ſhould have only the bare Title, and not intermeddle in the Government of the Kingdom.

The Queen being taken ill, what troubled her moſt was, that ſhe foreſaw, if *Elizabeth* reigned after her Death, the whole Structure in Religion, which ſhe had raiſed with ſo much Care, would be infallibly overturned; ſo that *Elizabeth* was now in the greateſt Danger ſhe had ever been: But God, who has given Bounds to the Sea, in like Manner arreſts the Fury of Perſecutors, and reſtrains their bloody Hands from touching theſe Perſons whom he has reſerved for the Repoſe and Security of the Church; and *Elizabeth* was preſerved through this whole Reign, when nothing was more palpable than all would be brought to nothing upon *Elizabeth*'s Acceſſion.

The Perſecution begun to be more furious than ever, by the Queen's expreſs Proclamation, which extended her Prerogative. About a Week before her Death four Perſons were burnt; and in this laſt Year of her Reign 39 Proteſtants ſuffered Martyrdom. Thoſe who

who ſay the leaſt, raiſe the whole Number to 284; and ſome Hiſtorians affirm, that 800 were put to Death. 1558.

Philip had put it into the Queen's Head, that ſhe might ſeize *Breſt*. For that Purpoſe ſhe put to Sea 120 Ships; but the Expence of all came to nothing; but a Negotiation of Peace was propoſed between *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, and *Cambray* was appointed for the Conference.

In *November* the Queen died. Cardinal *Pole* ſurvived her only 16 Hours. She was of a fierce, cruel, and vindictive Temper, which ſhe cloaked with a pretended Zeal for Religion.

1558.

23. *ELIZABETH.*

THE Death of *Mary*, tho' foreſeen ſometime before, yet ſtruck the Counſellors and Miniſters with Aſtoniſhment. Beſides, *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, *Frances*, Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Daughter of a younger Siſter of *Henry* VIII. might have put in a Claim to the Crown, ſince *Elizabeth* had been declared a Baſtard by an Act ſtill unrepealed: and tho' the Queen of *Scotland* was a Foreigner; yet, if theſe Reaſons had prevailed, ſhe was the next Heir: But the Parliament, which made the Deciſion, paid more Regard to the Policy and Intereſt of the State, than the ſettled Laws of the Kingdom; and yet, abſtracting the equitable Part from the Letter of the Law, *Elizabeth* was the true Heir, ſince ſhe was only made a Baſtard by an Act of Divorce, which was obtained more to humour the King's Paſſions than any other Motive.

Elizabeth had, during the late Reign, openly profeſſed the *Romiſh* Religion; but this was only to preſerve her Head.

Tho' the Lords and Commons were perſuaded that *Elizabeth* was a Proteſtant in her

her Heart; yet they thought it would be a difficult Matter for her to work any great Change in Religion, ſo unanimouſly declared her Queen. 1558.

Elizabeth being acquainted with this Reſolution, came to *London*, followed by a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, and infinite Crowds of People, teſtifying their Joy by the loudeſt Acclamations. She was 25 Years of Age, and agreeable to the People by a certain natural Affability, which commanded Eſteem and Affection from all that knew her.

Her firſt Care, after the Compliment paid her on her Acceſſion, was to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to the principal Courts of *Europe*, to give them Notice of the Change lately happen'd in *England*.

The Queen after formed a Council, in which ſhe left out 13 Counſellors to her late Siſter, all zealous for the Roman Catholicks, and to whom ſhe added eight new ones, equally affected to the Proteſtant Religion. With ſome of theſe latter ſhe had ſecret Conſultations on the Methods to reſtore the Reformation. *William Par*, Marquis of *Northampton*, *Francis Ruſſel*, Earl of *Bedford*, *Thomas Par*, *Edward Rogers*, *Ambroſe Cave*, *Francis Knolls*, *William Cecil*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was afterwards Under-keeper of the Great Seal, were the Proteſtant Counſellors.

Philip of *Spain* ſent to offer himſelf in Marriage with *Elizabeth*; but ſhe objected the

1558. the Affinity there was between them as a ſtrong Bar. *Philip* undertook to remove this Obſtacle, by obtaining a Diſpenſation from the Pope; but the Queen having other Thoughts, civilly diſmiſſed the Ambaſſador. She had not forgot that *Philip* had, in ſome meaſure, been the Occaſion of ſaving her Life. This, and other Reaſons, made her incline, however, to keep fair with the King of *Spain*.

But, to put an End to his Importunities at once, ſhe reſolved to puſh forwards her Deſign to change the Religion in *England*, which would be a civil Method to make *Philip* lay aſide his Addreſſes.

She knew ſhe would meet with great Oppoſition at Home, from the great Number of *Roman* Biſhops and Clergy introduced in the late Reign; as alſo from the Pope, who, in all Likelihood, would fulminate his Cenſures againſt her. For which Reaſon ſhe heard herſelf the proper Methods examined before her Cabinet Council.

In order to have a Parliament at her Devotion, ſhe ſtruck the Catholick Magiſtrates out of the Commiſſion of Peace, and put in Proteſtant ones. Then it was reſolved to remove every zealous Catholick from the Council; and, after the Kingdom was once put into a Poſture of Defence by theſe Means, ſhe looked little upon the Thunders of the Pope, which were thrown away upon thoſe that deſpiſed them.

The Parliament being ſummoned, Doctor *Parker*

Parker was entruſted, with ſome others, with the Care of reviſing the Liturgy of *Edward* VI. By a Proclamation, ſhe allowed Divine Service to be performed in the vulgar Tongue, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures; but ſhe forbad all meddling in Controverſy by preaching. *Ferdinal* I. had had been declared Emperor by the Reſignation of *Charles* V. his Brother, who died ſix Months after. This, at once, leſſened the Power of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, theſe Poſſeſſions being now in two ſeveral Perſons. 1558.

The Affairs of *Scotland* were now in great Perplexity on account of Religion. A Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants being there begun, they formed an Aſſociation under their Hands and Seals in defence of the new Religion. This done, they ſent to the Regent a Demand of certain Changes to be made in the publick Worſhip, which met with a vigorous Oppoſition from the Biſhops: But the Deputies from the Proteſtants repreſented to the Regent, that an abſolute Refuſal might throw all *Scotland* into a Flame.

This made her a little ſoften the Biſhops, and give Permiſſion to the Proteſtants to celebrate divine Service in their own Way, if done without Tumults, or preaching in the capital Cities.

The Queen, in order to promote her Deſigns, raiſed ſome Proteſtants to new Honours. The Earl of *Northampton* was reſtored to his Honours. *Edward Seymour*, eldeſt

1558. eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Somerſet*, was created Earl of *Hertford*. *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was created Viſcount *Bindon*. *Henry Carew*, the Queen's Couſin, and *Oliver St John*, were made Barons.

Theſe Promotions being over, the Queen was crowned in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. The See of *Canterbury* being vacant, the Office of the Coronation devolved upon the Archbiſhop of *York*: But this Prelate, and all the reſt, except *Oglethorp*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, refuſed the Office, becauſe the Queen had declared herſelf in the Favour of the Reformation: So *Oglethorp* perform'd the Office.

The Parliament being met, *Nicholas Bacon*, Keeper of the Great Seal, opened the Meeting by a Speech. He diſplay'd the Merits of the new Queen, with bitter Reflections on the laſt Miniſtry for the Loſs of *Calais*. Since Religion had been the Cauſe of many Troubles, he exhorted the Parliament to take a Mean between the two Extremes, of Superſtition and Irreligion, which might re-unite the Partizans of both.

An Act was made for reſtoring back to the Crown the Tenths and Firſt-fruits, and impropriated Tythes, notwithſtanding the great Oppoſition of the Biſhops.

The Commons, in an Addreſs to the Queen, repreſented to her how much the Safety of the Kingdom was concerned to have her entertain Thoughts of her Marriage.

She thanked them in an obliging Manner, and

and told them how much ſhe was pleaſed, 1558.
that they had not undertaken to appoint either the Time or Perſon. She added, that by the Ceremony of her Inauguration, ſhe was become Wife of her People, whom ſhe regarded as her Children: That beſides, ſhe had no Inclination to marry; and ſhould be pleaſed to have this Inſcription on her Tomb-ſtone, *Here lies a Queen, who reign'd ſo long, and lived and died a Virgin.*

The Parliament made ſeveral Acts relating to Religion. The firſt appointed the Publick Worſhip to be performed in the vulgar Tongue.

The ſecond reſtored the Queen to her Right of Supremacy in the Church of *England*, and to impower any to exerciſe her Supremacy.

The third renewed and confirmed all the Acts made in the Reign of *Edward* VI. which had any relation to Religion.

The fourth reſtored the Queen to her Right of nominating to Biſhopricks. By this Statute likewiſe a great many others were confirmed, which had been made in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. againſt the Pope. By this Act, all Perſons in Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Offices, were to take an Oath in Recognition of her Right to the Throne, and of her Supremacy, or were incapable to hold any Publick Office.

The firſt eſtabliſhed Uniformity in divine Worſhip.

By the ſixth, ſhe had Power to reſerve

to

1558. to herſelf ſome Lands belonging to the Biſhopricks as they became void, giving, in lieu, impropriated Tythes to the Value.

By the ſeventh, all religious Houſes founded by *Mary*, were ſuppreſſed and united to the Crown.

By the eighth, the Deprivation of Popiſh Biſhops in *Edward*'s Reign was declared valid in Law.

In a word, this Parliament reſtored Religion upon the Foot it had ſtood in *Edward* VI.'s Reign; and, after a Grant of two Subſidies to the Queen, was diſſolved.

The Supremacy with which the Queen was lately inveſted, with a Power to put it into what Hands ſhe pleaſed for the Exerciſe of it, gave riſe to a new Court, called *The Court of High Commiſſion*; compoſed of a certain Number of Commiſſioners, to exerciſe the ſame Power which had been in the Hands of one Vicegerent in the Reign of *Henry* VIII.

The lower Houſe of Convocation petitioned the Queen for a Conference, in which ſhould be diſputed ſeveral Principles of Religion. It was granted, and nine were appointed for the Catholicks, and nine for the Proteſtants. When the Catholicks found they were caſt in the Debate, they declared it was not in their Power to bring Points already decided to a Diſputation, without an Authority from the Pope, and ſo refuſed to give their Reaſons in Writing; tho' this was no

no more than their own Agreement. This gave the Proteſtants Cauſe of Triumph. 1559.

The Reformation having been eſtabliſhed by publick Authority (of Nine Thouſand Four Hundred beneficed Clergymen) in the Kingdom, only 14 Biſhops, 12 Arch-deacons, 15 Heads of Colleges, and about 80 of the Parochial Clergy, choſe to quit their Preferments rather than their Religion. Theſe Places being filled with Proteſtants, *England* became entirely reformed.

The Queen finding the Defection of *Philip*, and that ſhe could expect no Aſſiſtance from him in regard to the Reſtitution of *Calais*, and the Continuation of the War with *France* being no-way favourable to her Affairs, nor the Meaſures taken for introducing the Reformation, thought it beſt to agree to a Treaty with *France*; in which it was agreed,

That the King of *France* ſhould have *Calais*, and the other Places of *Picardy* won from the *Engliſh*, eight Years in his Hands; afterwards he ſhould be obliged to reſtore them back to *England*.

That *Henry* ſhould give ſix foreign Merchants, not of his own Subjects, as Securities for the Payment of 500,000 Crowns of Gold. In caſe the Place was not reſtored at that Time, this Sum to be forfeited; and, nevertheleſs, *Calais*, and the other Places, to be liable to the Reſtitution, which, if denied, ſhe had a Right to uſe Force.

The ſame Day a Treaty was ſigned be-

1559. tween the Queen of *England*, and the King and Queen of *Scotland*, as follows.

That neither of the Parties ſhould fall upon the Dominions actually poſſeſſed by the other.

That they ſhould give no Aid or Encouragement to attack the Dominions of one another, to any Perſon whatſoever.

That they ſhould not receive or entertain Rebels, Fugitives, Malefactors, *&c.*

Tho' theſe Treaties were ſigned, yet *Henry* had no Thoughts of keeping his Word with *England*; nor did he intend that the Dauphin, his Son, who married the Queen of *Scotland*, ſhould perform the Articles he enter'd into.

He order'd the Dauphin and Queen Dauphineſs to take the Title of King and Queen of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*; and they had even quarter'd the Arms of *England* in their Seals, Plate, and Furniture, to the End no Body might be ignorant of their Pretenſions to *England*.

Elizabeth complained of this Attempt; but it was excuſed, by ſaying it was only agreeable to the Cuſtom in *Germany*, where the younger Branches bore the Title and Arms of the Chief of their Family. *Elizabeth*, however, from this Time, regarded *Mary* of *Scotland* as a dangerous Rival.

Shortly after the Marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin, the Affairs of *Scotland* ran faſt to Confuſion. The Princes of *Lorrain* having formed the Deſign to attack

tack *England* by Force, were of Opinion, that it was not to be executed, without first rendering the King and Queen abſolute in their own Country.

For this Purpoſe it was reſolved to ſuffer no other Religion in *Scotland* but the Roman Catholick. This they thought would produce Troubles in *Scotland*, the major Part being Proteſtants, and furniſh *Henry* with a Pretence to ſend an Army thither, with which it was intended to attack *England*.

This being reſolved, Orders were ſent to the Queen Regent, and ſhe ſummoned the States to *Stirling*, and cited thither the reformed Miniſters, with a Deſign to have them baniſhed out of the Kingdom by a ſolemn Decree.

The Miniſters appearing at *Stirling* to defend their Cauſe, were attended with infinite Crowds of People, arm'd and prepared to ſecond them in their Defence, agreeable to the Cuſtom in *Scotland*. The Regent, aſtoniſhed at the Sight, prayed *John Areſkin* to prevail with the Multitude to retire, and gave him her Word nothing ſhould be determined in the States againſt the Miniſters.

Erſkine ſucceeded, and the Miniſters, with all their Attendants, withdrew; but they were no ſooner gone, than they were condemned in Default of Non-appearance, according to their Citation.

Erſkine, who was a Proteſtant, was ſo enraged at this, that he went to the Nobility of *Strathern*, *Angus*, and *Mearns*, who had aſſembled

bled upon the News of what was acted at *Stirling*, and perſuaded them to take up Arms.

This News being brought to *Perth*, *Knox*, the Miniſter, a celebrated Preacher, ſo animated the People there by a Sermon, that they went into the Churches, and broke the Images, and entirely deſtroy'd the Monaſtery of the *Chartreux*.

The Regent, upon this, aſſembled ſome Forces, and, attended by the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, marched directly to *Perth*; but being near the Town, ſhe was informed, that the Earl of *Glencairn* was encamped in the Neighbourhood of it with 7000 Men.

This News determined her to offer the Earl and his Aſſociates certain Conditions, which were accepted.

Amongſt other Articles it was agreed, that the Forces on both Sides ſhould be diſmiſſed: That the Queen Regent ſhould be received into the City, provided ſhe would agree to make no Alteration with regard to Religion.

But the Regent was no ſooner enter'd the City, than ſhe reſtored the Maſs; and, reſolving to make it a Place of Arms, left a Garriſon in the Town at her Departure.

It was from hence that the Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Stuart*, Prior of St *Andrew*'s, and natural Son of *James* V. took Occaſion to declare againſt the Regent, and levy Forces to ſupport the Proteſtants. Then they marched directly to *Perth*, and became Maſters

ſters of the Town in a few Days. Afterwards *Scoone*, *Stirling*, and *Linlithgow*, were ſecured by them; and their Army receiving daily Recruits, the Regent and *Oyſel* were obliged to withdraw to *Dunbar*. 1559

Upon this the Regent writ to *Henry*, and informed him, that *James Stuart* was aſpiring to the Crown, and for him to ſend a powerful Army to defend it.

Henry was raiſing Forces to ſend to *Scotland*; but the Conſtable *Montmorency* having penetrated the Deſign, that it was to invade *England*, perſuaded *Henry* from it, as a dangerous Undertaking.

And having enquired into the Truth of this, it was diſcovered, that *James Stuart* had no ſuch Deſign, but had taken up Arms purely in defence of Religion.

But *Henry* dying ſoon after, the Princes of *Lorrain* perſuaded the new King of *France* to ſend the Regent 1000 Men.

During this Tranſaction, the Earl of *Arran*, Son to the Duke of *Chatelherault*, who was next Heir to the Crown of *Scotland* after the Duke his Father, being in *France*, heard that it was intended to put him to Death, being a Proteſtant; upon which he eſcaped into *Scotland*, and joined the Confederates, and brought over his Father alſo, who was put at their Head.

The Regent knowing that they were now at *Edinburgh*, and having received a new Reinforcement of 2000 Men from *France*, marched to *Edinburgh*, and ſurprized them ſo by her un-

1559. unexpected Arrival, that they were forced to retire to *Stirling*; and being closely pursued, were obliged to quit *Stirling*, and retire to the Mountains, where they divided into two Bodies, to embarrass their Enemies, who gave them no Intermission. Such was the Origin of the *Scots* Troubles.

The Design the Princes of *Lorrain* had in sending the *French* Army into *Scotland*, was to put that Kingdom into a State of Tranquillity; that is, to render it entirely submissive to *France*, in order to fall upon *England* from that Quarter. The Reader is to carry this Observation along with him, to understand the History of this Reign, since *France* intended to unite *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to that Monarchy.

Thus the young King of *France*, who was but 17 Years of Age, was put upon this Project by the Princes of *Lorrain*, Uncles to the Queen, and who were intrusted with the Administration of the Government.

Pope *Paul* IV. dying this Year, was succeeded by Cardinal *de Medicis*, by the Name of *Pius* IV. The Persecution of the Protestants in *France* and *Spain* carried Numbers to the Flames.

Elizabeth had for Enemies, *France*, the Queen of *Scotland*, the Pope, and all the Catholick Powers. On the other hand, she had the *Irish*, and a great Part of her *English* Subjects to guard against, without having one Ally to assist her in her Extremities. She was therefore to draw those Assistances which she

she could hope for from no other Hands than from her own Prudence, good Conduct, and faithful Subjects. She had a particular Quality, which won her the Esteem of the *English* in a great Degree; this was, that she would not suffer any Applications from the Ministers to prevail with her, to bestow Offices or Honours upon unworthy Persons, but always bestowed them upon Men of Merit and superior Virtue. She made it her Duty to distribute Justice on all Occasions with Impartiality; which won the Hearts of her Subjects, as she had true Merit herself, and esteemed it in another. 1560.

As it was not without just Cause, that she feared the uniting of the Catholick Potentates to endeavour her Ruin, she promoted, with all her Strength, the Troubles which at any Time arose in the neighbouring States; and particularly in *France*, *Scotland*, and the *Low Countries*. This was a Piece of refined Policy, which her Affairs required; tho' this has made some Historians asperse her Character, and say, that she exceeded all the Tyrants that went before her in Dissimulation and Barbarity.

The Confederate *Scots* having undertaken to conclude a Treaty with *Elizabeth*, it was signed this Year at *Berwick*; the Substance of it follows.

That she took under her Protection the Duke of *Chatelherault*, and all his Adherents, to maintain the Kingdom of *Scotland* in its Liberties and Privileges, during the Marriage

1560. riage of the Queen of *Scotland* with the King of *France*, and one Year after, and to ſend Forces thither to drive out the *French*.

That ſhe never would abandon the Confederates, while they acknowledged *Mary* for their Sovereign, and did their utmoſt to ſupport the juſt Rights of the Crown.

That the Places which the *Engliſh* ſhould take in *Scotland*, ſhould either be demoliſhed, or be put into the Hands of the Duke of *Chatelherault*, at his own Option: That the Duke, and all his Adherents, ſhould join the *Engliſh* Forces.

That they ſhould declare themſelves the Enemies of thoſe of their Countrymen, who ſhould enter into the Service of *France* againſt *England*.

That if *England* was to be attacked in the South, the Confederates ſhould ſend to the Queen's Aſſiſtance 2000 Foot and 200 Horſe; but if in the North, they ſhould join the *Engliſh* with all their Forces.

That if the Earl of *Argyle*, Great Juſticiary of *Scotland*, ſhould engage with the Confederates, he ſhould be obliged to uſe all his Endeavours to reduce the North of *Ireland* under the Dominion of *England*.

That the Confederates ſhould give Hoſtages to the Queen, to remain in *England* during the Marriage between *Mary* and the King of *France*.

From this Treaty it is plain, that *Elizabeth*'s only Aim was, to keep the King of *France* from becoming Maſter of *Scotland*, as ſhe

ſhe knew that the Attack againſt her was intended from that Quarter. 1560.

While theſe Things were negotiating, the *French* Forces that were in *Scotland* continued their Purſuit of the Confederates into the Mountains. They expected a freſh Aid from *France*, which was actually at Sea, but put back by a violent Tempeſt: and afterwards the Troubles which broke out in *France* called for the Aſſiſtance of theſe Forces they were ſending; as alſo thoſe in *Scotland*.

However, the *French* Forces yet in *Scotland* retired to *Leith*, and the Confederates aſſembled from all Places, with Deſign to join the *Engliſh* Army, which was ſent to their Relief, under the Command of the Lord *Grey*. He had 6 or 7000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe, and was joined by the Confederates, and both Armies marched to *Leith*, whether the Enemies retired.

It was no ſlight Undertaking to beſiege a Place which had an Army within its Walls; but as there was no other Way to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*, the Siege was begun.

The *French* ſent to *Elizabeth* to withdraw her Army out of *Scotland*. She anſwered, her Troops ſhould readily be re-called, provided the *French* were likewiſe ſent back, becauſe *France* had no juſter Pretenſions to ſend Forces thither than *England*.

At laſt the *French* Ambaſſador, ſeeing he could not divert her from her Reſolution to ſupport the *Scots* Confederates, told her, that

1560. the King of *France* would give her back *Calais*, if ſhe would re-call her Forces; but ſhe anſwered, that that paultry Town was not worth redeeming at ſo great a Price. In the mean Time, ſhe diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Philip* II. to inform him of the Reaſons which induced her to aſſiſt *Scotland*; that with an Intent to unite *Scotland* to *France*, the King of *France* had formed a Deſign to murder the Earl of *Arran*, who had happily withdrawn from *Paris*; and ſhe prayed *Philip* to conſider if ſuch an Union would be advantageous to *Spain*.

The Siege of *Leith* went but on with ill Succeſs, by reaſon of ſo numerous a Garriſon: However, the King of *France* finding it was no favourable Opportunity to attack *England*, and having Occaſion at Home for his Forces which were in *Scotland*, ſent to treat about a Peace; and during this Conference the Queen-Regent died.

This Negociation, however, had like to have broke off, becauſe the *French* refuſed to treat with the *Scots* Confederates, ſaying, it would be an Injury to the Royal Authority, ſince they were Rebels: But, at laſt, an Expedient was found out; this was, that *Francis* and *Mary* ſhould grant certain Conditions to the Confederates, not by way of Treaty, but as Acts of pure Grace and Favour; and that they, nevertheleſs, ſhould oblige themſelves to an Obſervance of them in the Treaty to be made with the Queen of *England*.

The

The Promiſes made to the *Scots* were, that the *French* Forces ſhould be re-called. 1560.

That the City of *Leith* ſhould be reſtored to *Scotland*, and the Fortifications demoliſhed.

That the Works made by the *French* at *Dunbar* ſhould be demoliſhed.

That the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* ſhould grant an Amneſty to the Confederates for every thing done from the 10th of *March* 1559, to the firſt of *Auguſt* 1560; and that this Amneſty ſhould be approved and ratified by the States of *Scotland*.

That the *French* ſhould have Liberty to leave 69 Men in *Scotland*.

The Reaſon of this was, that the Queen might not ſeem to be thrown out of the entire Poſſeſſion of *Scotland*.

But with regard to the Intereſts of *Elizabeth*, a real Treaty was concluded, called, *The Treaty of* Edinburgh; which was,

That, for the future, the King and Queen of *Scotland* ſhould not aſſume the Title and Quality of King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, nor bear the Arms of theſe Kingdoms.

That the farther Satisfaction which *Elizabeth* demanded for the Injury which was done her, ſhould be referred to a Conference to be held at *London*; and if not there decided, to be left to the Umpirage of the King of *Spain*.

That the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* ſhould make good the Promiſes made to the *Scots*.

The

1560. The Treaty being ſigned, the *French* and *Engliſh* Army withdrew. The Fortifications of *Leith* and *Dunbar* were demoliſhed, and the Amneſty ratified by the States. Afterwards the States made ſome Laws in favour of the Reformation, and ſent them to the King and Queen for their Approbation, rather to diſcover what were their Sentiments on this Subject, than with any Hopes of having their Laws confirmed; yet the King and Queen ordered a punctual Obedience to be paid to theſe new Laws.

Francis and *Mary* refuſed their Ratification to the Treaty, as to what related to *Elizabeth*; which convinced her, that the Princes of *Lorrain* perſiſted ſtill in their Deſign to wreſt the Crown from her.

Tho' the Queen had declared her Averſion to Matrimony; yet, thinking ſhe might change her Mind, ſhe was applied to on that Occaſion by *Charles*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, ſecond Son to the Emperor *Ferdinand*. The King of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Holſtein*, alſo declared their Pretenſions.

The Earl of *Arran* was another, who, relying on Queen *Mary*'s Barrenneſs, flattered himſelf with the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland*, and imagined that *Elizabeth* would prefer him, in Expectation of uniting *Scotland* to *England*.

To theſe were added ſome of her Subjects, who, not daring to make ſo open a Declaration, were contented to have her gueſs their

their Inclinations, or to have them conveyed to her by ſome of her Ladies. 1560.

The Earl of *Arundel*, Sir *George Pickering*, and *Robert Dudley*, Son of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were among her Admirers. The Queen viſibly preferred the laſt to all who had the Honour to be about her Perſon; and gave him ſo many Proofs of the Inclination ſhe had for him, that, for ſome Time, it was believed ſhe intended to marry him. After her Acceſſion, ſhe made him Maſter of the Horſe, and dignified him with the Order of the Garter.

She took a Pleaſure to diſtribute her Favours through his Conveyance. He was known at Court by the Title of *My Lord*, without any other Addition; which ſufficiently diſcovered her Preference of him to all the reſt of the Nobility.

The Queen had ſtill two other Favourites, but of a different Order from *Dudley*, as they were only concerned in the Affairs of the Government. Theſe were *Nicholas Bacon* and *William Cecil*..

By the Ambaſſador ſent to *Spain*, to acquaint *Philip* with the Reaſons for ſending an Army to *Scotland*, the Queen was made to underſtand, that *Philip* was very cold as to her Intereſts.

The Pope ſent *Vincent Parpaglia*, Abbot of *St Saviour*, into *England*, to endeavour to bring back the Queen to the Pale of the Church. He offered the Confirmation of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and a Permiſſion to the

1560. the *Engliſh* to communicate in both kinds; but theſe Offers were not capable to ſhake *Elizabeth*.

The great Perſecutions in *France* upon the Proteſtants, made them form a Deſign for their common Support. They had deſigned to carry off the *Lorrain* Princes, who were the chief Inſtruments of Numbers being committed to the Flames.

This Attempt having miſcarried, was interpreted as a Conſpiracy againſt the King, and 1200 Perſons, either guilty or only ſuſpected, were put to Death. Soon after, *Francis* II. King of *France*, died, and *Charles* IX. his Brother, ſucceeded. As he was a Minor, *Catharine de Medicis*, his Mother, had the Addreſs and Influence to prevail with the King of *Navarre*, Firſt Prince of the Blood, to yield the Regency to her, and content himſelf with the Title of *Lieutenant-General*.

There were now two Factions in *France*; the Catholicks ſided with the one, and the Proteſtants with the other. This made Work enough at Home; ſo that *Elizabeth* ſeemed to be diſcharged from all Fears from that Nation. The Princes of *Lorrain* had Enemies in the Court to ſtruggle with, which left them in no Condition to aſſert and purſue the Rights of the Queen, their Neece; wherefore, immediately after the Death of *Francis*, *Mary*, by the Advice of her Uncle, quitted the Title of Queen of *England*.

Mary being adviſed to take upon her the Go-

Government of *Scotland*, and to reign as her Predeceſſors had done, with the Concurrence of her States, as the only Way to procure Happineſs and Tranquillity to her Reign, ſhe, agreeable to this Advice, ſent a Patent to commiſſion the States to act as they ſhould judge proper, for the Good of the Kingdom, until her Arrival. 1561.

As *Scotland* was at this Time almoſt wholly Proteſtants, the States employ'd the Power granted them by the Queen to eſtabliſh the Reformation by Publick Authority. This was followed with an Order to demoliſh all the Monaſteries; which was immediately put in Execution.

Mary being ready to go for *Scotland*, ſent to *Elizabeth* for a Safe-conduct to paſs through *England*; but ſhe refuſed, unleſs *Mary* would agreed to ſign the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. *Mary* inſiſted ſhe could not, till ſhe had conſulted the States. This, and the Uſurpation of the Arms and Title of *Elizabeth*, were the Baſis of a Difference between the two Queens.

Mary, however, without any Safe-conduct, put to Sea, and arrived in *Scotland*. Some ſay that a Miſt ſaved her from the *Engliſh* Fleet, which waited to intercept her. At her Arrival, ſhe had the Mortification to ſee the Reformation eſtabliſhed by Laws ſo ſecure and ſtrict, that only herſelf was allowed the Liberty to celebrate Maſs in her own Chapel.

Nevertheleſs, ſome of the Nobility perſiſted

1561. ſiſted in the old Religion. In this Number were *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntley*; the Earls of *Athol*, *Crawford*, *Sutherland*, and ſome Biſhops.

James Stuart, her natural Brother, was the principal Object of their Hatred, as he was firmly attached to the Proteſtant Religion; beſides, the Queen had, at her Arrival, committed to him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, which put them upon every Method to ruin his Credit with the Queen.

Mary, as ſoon as ſhe got to *Edinburgh*, ſent an Ambaſſador to *Elizabeth*, to deſire ſhe might be declared the preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*; and the principal Noblemen ſeconded this Requeſt.

Elizabeth declared ſhe had no Intention to take any Meaſures which, after her Death, might, in any Manner, prejudice that Queen; but that ſhe expected a Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, according as *Mary* had promiſed.

This Year *Elizabeth* had the Happineſs to find in *Cumberland* a Mine of very fine Copper, near *Keſwick*, at the Foot of *Skiddaw*; and, at the ſame Time, was found a great Quantity of *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is made Uſe of in making of Copper into Braſs.

As ſhe had Reaſon to fear an Invaſion from foreign Parts, not having one Ally, ſhe fortified all her Sea Ports, and kept a ſtanding Fleet. She alſo ordered Gun-Powder

der to be made in *England*, it being before supplied from Abroad. 1561.

The Cares of War did not, however, divert *Elizabeth* from the Affairs of Juſtice and the Civil Adminiſtration: She had her Eye every where; and laboured ſucceſsfully for the Reformation of Abuſes, and the bringing Things to a juſt Order. Thus every Man being ſure of the Queen's Juſtice and Equity, *England* ſaw the Revival of a Felicity which it had long wanted. The People had ſo much the greater Reaſon to praiſe the Queen's Government, ſince ſhe took a particular Care how the Publick Money was expended, not ſuffering the Caſh to be waſted in Extravagancies; ſo that all Subſidies were granted with Chearfulneſs, knowing they would be well applied to a publick Benefit.

The Catholicks, however, had Meetings, and plotted to reſtore their Religion by open Force. *Elizabeth* having ſome Intimation of theſe Deſigns, was deſirous to come to the Origin of them; and, at laſt, ſhe traced them up to the Queen of *Scotland*, who was to encourage the deſigned Rebellion, from the Right which ſhe pretended to the Crown of *England*.

The Counteſs of *Lenox*, born from a ſecond Marriage of *Margaret* Queen of *Scotland* with the Earl of *Angus*, held a ſecret Correſpondence with *Mary* by way of Letters. Here the firſt Diſcovery was made; there-

1561. fore, ſhe ſent the Earl and Counteſs of *Lenox* to the Tower.

Soon after ſhe diſcovered, that *Arthur Pool*, and his Brother, deſcended from a Princeſs of the Houſe of *York*, and Sir *Anthony Forteſcue*, who had married their Siſter, began to form Factions in the Kingdom. They were impriſoned, and tried, and confeſſed they had formed a Deſign to declare *Mary* Queen of *Scots* Queen of *England*, after *Elizabeth*'s Death; which, it was foretold by ſome, would happen before the Concluſion of the Year. Their own Confeſſion condemned them; but the Queen, in Conſideration of their illuſtrious Deſcent, forgave their Offence.

Catharine Grey, Siſter to *Jane Grey*, beheaded in the laſt Reign, met not with the ſame Clemency, tho' leſs criminal. She had married the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had procured a Divorce, becauſe he could not ly with her. Afterwards the Earl of *Hertford* married her ſecretly.

The Queen, informed of this Marriage without her Conſent, ſent her to the Tower; as alſo the Earl of *Hertford*. She was then great with Child: However, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* annulled the Marriage, becauſe it was not ſufficiently proved. After this *Hertford* got to her, and ſhe became pregnant a ſecond Time; which made him be accuſed of having broken the Priſon, and defiled a Princeſs of the Royal Blood; for which he was fined 5000 *l.*

At

At last, after a long Imprisonment, and several fruitless Attempts to have his Sentence reversed, he was obliged to forsake her by an authentick Act; but the Queen remaining implacable, the Lady died in Prison. 1562.

This Rigour does no Honour to the Memory of *Elizabeth*; because it is clear, that *Catharine*'s Right to the Crown, whatever it was, was the most material Grievance of *Elizabeth* against her.

Catharine de Medicis continued to foment the Differences between the two Factions in *France*, and seemed to lean to the *Hugonots*, (the Protestants so called) who were the weakest. She supported that Faction, and granted it a very favourable Edict, called, *The Edict of* January; for the supporting of this Faction the better secured her in the Regency.

The Duke of *Guise* penetrating her Design, threw the two Factions at once into War. He accomplished his Design, by the Massacre of *Vassy*, upon a very slight Occasion. The *Hugonots*, unable to contain any longer, began the War by the Surprize of *Orleans*.

The *Hugonots* being unsuccessful in the first Campaign, sent the Vidame of *Chartres* to *Elizabeth* to desire her Assistance. She furnished them with 100,000 Crowns, and 6000 Foot.

This done, she published her Reasons for assisting the *Hugonots*; that her Intent was not

1562. not to conquer *Normandy*, tho' it was unjustly ravaged from her Ancestors; but to preserve the King of *France*, in his Minority, from the Ambition and Attempts of the Princes of *Lorrain*: That she was concerned to use her Endeavours to prevent that Province from falling into their Hands, as it was manifest their Intention was to seize the Ports in that Part of *France*, and bring the War into her Dominions, after they had exterminated the Reformed in *France*: That, for these Reasons, she thought herself obliged to assist the young King, to prevent his Subjects from being oppress'd by the Tyranny of the *Guises*; to protect the Professors of the Reform'd Religion, and provide for her own Safety.

Elizabeth was afraid of the Duke of *Guise*'s becoming Master of the Court and Kingdom, and employing all the Forces of *France* to execute his Design, in placing the Queen of *Scotland*, his Neece, on the *English* Throne.

The *English* Troops were put under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*. In the Conclusion of this Year the Battle of *Dreux* was fought between the Catholicks and *Hugonots*, with almost equal Loss. The Prince of *Conde*, and Constable of *Montmorency*, who commanded the two Armies, were both Prisoners; but the King's Forces kept the Field of Battle.

James Stuart, who had been created Earl of *Murray*, held still the first Rank in the Ma-

Management of the Affairs of *Scotland*; not so much from any Affection the Queen had for him, as from the Advice given her to keep him always fixed to her Intereſts. 1562.

However, he being a Man of ſevere Morals, told the Queen, that he was afraid that the Luxury which ſhe introduced at Court would be a Means to loſe her the Affections of her People. This furniſhed his Enemies with a Pretext to inſinuate to the Queen, that *Murray* intended to keep her in Servitude: Nay, ſome Lords had endeavoured to aſſaſſinate him; but were timely diſcovered.

But this is not all, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to the Queen, his Neece, to incite her to move *Murray*, and ſome other zealous Proteſtants, out of the Way; to which Piece of Service ſhe might expect a puiſſant Succour from the Pope, to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Religion in *Scotland*.

The Queen reſolved to comply with the Pope and Cardinal's Deſires, and communicated her Intentions to the Earl of *Huntley*, who approved of them, and promiſed his Aſſiſtance.

But *Huntley*, at the ſame Time, had formed a Deſign to carry the Queen off, and force her to marry *George Gordon*, his eldeſt Son.

The Queen having deſigned to viſit the North, where the Earl of *Huntley* had his Eſtates, *Murray* accompanied the Queen in her

1563. her Journey, which prevented the Execution of the Plot laid againſt him.

One Day, when the Court was in a ſmall ill-fortified Town, *George Gordon* appeared in the Sight of it with ſome Forces, intending to carry the Queen off; but the Earl of *Murray*, by unexpected good Fortune, found a Way to ſave her. This rather effaced the diſadvantageous Impreſſions for ſome Time which ſhe had received of him.

This did not hinder *Huntley* from proſecuting his Deſign, ſo he ſtill kept in Arms. The Earl of *Murray*, at the Head of ſome Forces, marched againſt him, and a Battle enſued. *Huntley* was defeated, and made Priſoner; but died ſoon after. *George*, his Son, eſcaped; but the Duke of *Chatelherault*, his Father-in-law, ſued for his Pardon, and he was delivered into her Hands: Nevertheleſs, he was tried, and ſentenced to die; but the Sentence was never executed.

Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacting, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* propoſed the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with the Arch-duke *Charles*, ſecond Son to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, with the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for a Portion. This plainly ſhews, that the *Guiſes* ſtill deſigned to conquer *England* for *Mary*; and it made *Elizabeth* always watch her Motions.

The Duke of *Guiſe* laid Siege to *Orleans*, which was the Magazine where the Proteſtants lodged their Arms. The Place was reduced to the laſt Extremity, when the Duke

Duke of *Guiſe* was killed by a Piſtol Ball. 1563.
The Duke perceiving his Death, teſtified an extreme Regret for having kindled the Civil War; and ſent his ſerious Advice to the Queen Regent, to make a Peace on any Terms. A Peace was concluded accordingly, without any Care taken by the Prince of *Conde* to have his generous Friend *Elizabeth* concluded in any one Article of it.

Nor was this all; for *Charles* IX. having laid Siege to *Havredegrace*, the *Hugonots* particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in driving the *Engliſh* out of a Place which themſelves had put into their Hands. If their Conduct on this Occaſion ſhewed them good *Frenchmen*, they, at leaſt, diſcovered that they were ſorry Politicians, in thus falling out with *England*.

The Earl of *Warwick* defended the Place ſome Time with Bravery; but the Plague being in the Town, obliged him to capitulate. He brought the Plague with him into *England*, which ſwept away more than 20,000 Perſons in the ſingle City of *London*.

The Marriage between *Mary* of *Scotland* and the Arch-duke was near concluded, when *Elizabeth* prevailed with her to deſiſt from the Marriage, as it would neceſſarily be a Bar from her ever having any Pretenſions in *England*, which would never hazard that Crown under the Dominion of the *Auſtrian* Family. *Elizabeth* added, that if any *Engliſh* Nobleman was ſo happy as to pleaſe her, ſuch a Marriage would doubtleſs remove

the

1563. the Difficulties which lay in the Way to her being declared her preſumptive Heir. This made *Mary* at a Stand what to do; however, ſhe declined the Match propoſed with the Arch-duke.

Frances Brandon, Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, died this Year. Of her three Daughters with *Grey*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, and afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*, *Jane*, the eldeſt, had been proclaimed Queen, and died on the Scaffold. *Catharine* died in the Tower; and *Mary*, the third, was given in Marriage to a Man but little diſtinguiſhed: So there was little Likelihood of her being put in Competition with the Queen of *Scotland*, in caſe *Elizabeth* ſhould die.

The Parliament held this Year paſſed an Act to eſtabliſh and confirm the Queen's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. The Work of the Reformation was, in a great Meaſure, compleated; and the Articles of the Church of *England* ſettled by the Convocation, and reduced to 39 Articles, as they ſtand to this Day.

This Year a Treaty was ſigned between the King of *France* and the Queen of *England*, in which were preſerved entire all their Pretenſions, without mentioning any particular one. After this *Elizabeth* ſent to King *Charles* the Order of the Garter.

This Affair being finiſhed, *Elizabeth* paid a Viſit to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where ſhe was received with great Pomp and Magnificence. She teſtified her Satisfaction by

an

an elegant *Latin* Oration; wherein ſhe aſ- 1564.
ſured them of her Intention to encourage Learning to the utmoſt of her Power.

The Tranquillity which the Queen then enjoy'd would have been compleat, if her Suſpicions of the Queen of *Scotland* had not given her perpetual Uneaſineſs. It was to her ſhe was always directing her Eyes, as to her moſt dangerous Enemy. She conſidered, that the Marriage of this Queen might lay a Foundation of Troubles; Therefore, ſhe writ her a Letter, wherein ſhe gave her Advice concerning her Marriage; and let her know, that the marrying without her Conſent, would be attended with Ruin to her own Affairs.

Notwithſtanding *Mary*'s Reſolution to live in good Intelligence with *Elizabeth*, ſhe was exceedingly provoked at her obtruding unaſked Advice upon her, and this with an Air of Superiority. Forgetting, therefore, her Reſolution, ſhe returned an Anſwer to *Elizabeth*, which gave that Queen exceeding Offence: But, ſome Time after, reflecting that a Quarrel might enſue with *Elizabeth*, ſhe diſpatched *James Melvil* to pay her Compliments, and to endeavour to repair the Damage done herſelf by her own Impatience.

Elizabeth received her Compliments with equal Diſſimulation: However, outwardly they ſeemed to be well reconciled; and *Mary* conſented to a Conference of Com-

1564. missioners of both Kingdoms on the Subject of her Marriage.

Some Time after the Earl of *Bedford* for *England*, and the Earls of *Murray* and *Lidington* for *Scotland*, had a Conference at *Berwick*; where the Earl of *Bedford*, from his Inſtructions, propoſed the Marriage of *Mary* with the Lord *Dudley*, afterwards made Earl of *Leiceſter*; but the two *Scots* Earls received the Propoſal with Coldneſs.

At the ſame Time *Mary* was forming a Deſign to marry the Lord *Darnly*, Son to the Counteſs of *Lenox*, Daughter of *Margaret*, Queen of *Scotland*.

This Year *Ferdinand* died, leaving the Imperial Dignity, and his hereditary States, in Succeſſion to his Son *Maximilian*.

1565. The Queen of *Scotland* had for ſome Time entertained an *Italian*, named *David Rizzo*, who govern'd her abſolutely. He was Son of a Muſician of *Turin*; and being Servant to the Count *de Muretto*, appointed Ambaſſador to *Scotland*, attended his Maſter into that Country. As he underſtood Muſick well, and ſung a good Baſs, the Queen, who wanted a Baſs in her Concert, deſired the Ambaſſador to leave him with her. His excellent Voice often giving him the Honour to ſee the Queen, he ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into her Favour, that he was ſeen daily climbing to Credit and Authority. At laſt he became in a manner Firſt Miniſter; nothing of Moment being tranſacted at Court, but through his Conveyance. His Pride

Pride and Inſolence rendered him odious to the whole Nobility. When other Great Ones waited on the Queen, to confer with her upon Affairs of the Government, they always found *Rizzo* in her Chamber. He affected to whiſper in her Ear while ſhe was in Conference with them, and even in the Aſſembly of all the States; which gave Room to ſcandalous Suſpicions. 1565.

The Earl of *Lenox*'s Father was called from *England* to *Scotland* by *Mary*, in order to reſtore him to his Eſtate, forfeited during the Regency of the Duke of *Chatelherault*. At the ſame Time his Son, the Lord *Darnly*, obtained Leave to be abſent from *England* three Months, in order to be at the *Scots* Parliament; and, at his Arrival, he was well received by the Queen, who gave him, from the firſt Moment, Marks of her Eſteem; and it became no Secret, that ſhe intended him for her Huſband.

The Lord *Darnly* being a Catholick, and *Rizzo* one of the Pope's Penſioners, they at firſt contracted a cloſe Friendſhip; and the Earl of *Murray* ſaw his Credit with the Queen, who recalled all his Enemies to Court, decline daily.

The Earl of *Bothwell* returned from *France*, the Earl of *Sutherland* from *Flanders*; and *George Gordon*, who was impriſoned, and under Sentence of Death, was ſet at Liberty, and after, he had his Pardon, and took the Title of *Earl of* Huntley.

Murray could not ſee *Bothwell*, who had

1565. had had a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him, without Reſentment. He impeached him in a legal Manner, and prevailed to have a Day aſſigned for his Trial; but he did not think proper to ſtand his Trial, and withdrew, tho' the Queen had endeavoured to corrupt his Judges in his Favour.

Mary being reſolved on her Marriage, had already applied to the Pope for a Diſpenſation. When ſhe heard it was granted, ſhe called together the Great Ones of her Court, all devoted to her, to have their Advice upon her Marriage, which was unanimouſly approved; only, not to exaſperate the People, a Motion was made for Care to be taken of the Proteſtant Religion.

Afterwards *Mary* writ to *Elizabeth* to have her Approbation of her intended Marriage: But *Elizabeth* looked upon her Marriage with *Darnly* as dangerous to Religion and the Kingdom; ſo ſent to make *Mary* ſenſible of the Hazard ſhe run of loſing her Expectation of mounting the Throne of *England*, by a Marriage ſo diſagreeable to the *Engliſh*. Whereupon the Earl of *Lenox* and Lord *Darnly* were ordered to return to *England*, their Time of Leave being expired, or their Eſtates would be forfeited.

Elizabeth's Ambaſſador had further Inſtructions to encourage the diſcontented Lords, and give them Hopes of her Protection. It was probably from this Encouragement, that they took Arms to oppoſe the Marriage; but *Mary* prevented their De-

Deſigns, by having it ſolemnized privately in her own Chapel, after the Form of the Church of *Rome*. 1565.

The Confederate Lords having been cited, and not appearing, namely, the Duke of *Chatelherault*, the Earls of *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Rothes*, *Marr*, *Glencairn*, and others, the Queen put herſelf at the Head of 4000 Men; and, purſuing them from Place to Place, obliged them, at laſt, to retire into *England*.

There they found a ſafe Retreat, notwithſtanding the Treaty of the Year 1560, by which the two Queens mutually engaged to deliver up the fugitive Rebels; but ſuch Articles are uſually but ill obſerved. The Earl of *Murray*, upon this, was directly ſent to *Elizabeth*, to demand her Protection; but ſhe artfully brought him before the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Spain*, to acknowledge ſhe had no Hand in the Rebellion. *Murray* had no ſooner dropt this Confeſſion, than ſhe called them Rebels and Traitors. This was intended only to clear her before the Ambaſſadors, and was all a Farce; for ſhe afterwards ſupplied them with Money.

By the Solicitation of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and *Rizzo*, who was the Pope's Creature, *Mary* laid a Plan to baniſh the fugitive Lords by a ſolemn Act, and to ſeize their Eſtates.

Mean while *Elizabeth* writ to *Mary*, to have the Lord *Darnly*, to whom ſhe had vouchſafed to give the Title of King, delivered

1565. vered up, according to the Tenor of their Treaties. *Mary* refuſed the Ambaſſador Audience, yet read the Letter.

Rizzo, who was preſent when ſhe had read about half of the Letter, ſtood up, and bid her read no more; ſhe had read enough, ſhe ſhould ſtop. He judged that *Elizabeth* only demanded the King, in order to oblige *Mary* to receive the Exiles into Favour; to which he could not agree, being determined to ruin them; tho' the Earl of *Murray* had ſent him a very ſubmiſſive Letter, with a fine Diamond incloſed.

Mary, however, anſwered *Elizabeth*, that ſhe would act nothing againſt *England*, provided ſhe was declared her preſumptive Heir by Act of Parliament; but, as to the fugitive Lords, ſhe would do with them as ſhe thought proper.

Whilſt *Rizzo* was projecting Methods to ruin the fugitive Lords, the Queen conceived an extreme Averſion to her new Spouſe, which ſoon became publick, becauſe ſhe took no Care to hide it: Nay, ſhe cauſed his Name to be put out of the Stamp for Money, and placed her own Name before his in all publick Acts, tho' it was otherwiſe before; and continued, without Reſerve, her ſcandalous Familiarities with *Rizzo*, if we may believe *Buchanan*.

This created a great Jealouſy in the King, who reſolved to get rid of *Rizzo*. For this Purpoſe, he privately ſent to the fugitive Lords, that they might return to *Scotland*.

Whe-

Whether he gave them Hopes, in general, of ſome Turn to their Advantage, or informed them of his ſecret Deſigns, is not certainly known. 1566.

This Year was the Interview at *Bayonne*, wherein the two Courts of *France* and *Spain* reſolved together to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to extirpate the Hereticks. Pope *Pius* IV. alſo died this Year; and he that ſucceeded took the Name of *Pius* V.

The *Scots* Members daily repairing to *Edinburgh*, in the Beginning of the Year 1566, as they arrived, *Rizzo* openly ſolicited them to procure the Condemnation of the fugitive Lords; notwithſtanding *Elizabeth*, by her Ambaſſador, warmly ſolicited to the contrary. As they were the Heads of the Proteſtants, ſhe expected great Service from them.

Mean while the King conſulted with the Earl of *Morton*, and ſome other Friends, about the Means of making away *Rizzo*. In ſhort, his Death was determined; the King having ſigned a Writing, declaring himſelf to be the Author of it; and it was executed in this Manner. The Queen being at Table with *Rizzo* in her Chamber, the King went up a private Pair of Stairs, and ſtood ſome Time, leaning on her Chair. Preſently after the Lord *Ruthven* and *George Douglas* enter'd armed, and attended with ſeveral of their Accomplices. The King having informed his Conſort, that ſhe was in no Danger, *George Douglas* took the King's

1566. King's Dagger from his Side, and plunged it into *Rizzo*'s Body, who was immediately dragged into another Room, and there ſlain.

Then a Guard was ſet upon the Queen; who found Means, however, to tell *Melvil* to go and tell the Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, to draw People together and come to her Relief.

Melvil having diſcharged his Commiſſion, the Provoſt ſaid he would do his Endeavour; but he did not expect much from the People, who were greatly diſpleaſed at the Government: However, ſome few appearing before the Palace, the King appeared from the Window, and aſſured them, that *Rizzo* was ſlain by his Command, and ordered them to retire; which they did. Thus died *Rizzo*, who had intended to have the fugitive Lords condemned by the Parliament two Days after.

Murray, and the other fugitive Lords, arrived two Days after *Rizzo*'s Death; and the Queen ſent for *Murray*, to intreat him not to join with her Enemies, for which he might be ſure of her Favour for ever.

Whilſt the Queen was kept in Priſon, *Scotland* was in a real Anarchy; but it did not laſt long: the King began to repent having followed ſuch violent Councils; and the Queen, who perceived it, knew how to wheedle him ſo well, that ſhe perſuaded him to abandon *Rizzo*'s Murderers, and retired to *Dunbar*, carrying the King with her. She had

had promiſed to ſign an Accommodation in their Favour, as ſoon as ſhe was at Liberty; but afterwards refuſed. 1566.

Mary being come to *Dunbar*, aſſumed her Authority, and granted a Pardon to the Earl of *Murray*, and the Earls of *Argyle*, *Rothes*, and *Glencairn*. As for the Duke of *Chatelherault*, he had withdrawn from them before they were conſtrained to fly into *England*. The Queen's Anger was now wholly turned againſt *Rizzo*'s Murderers: But *Morton*, *Ruthven*, and *Douglas*, being fled into *England*, ſhe could puniſh only ſome of their Accomplices, who were executed; and ſhe mortified the King in ſuch a Manner, as was enough to make him loſe all Patience.

Now began the Earl of *Bothwell* to hold in the Queen's Affections the Place *Rizzo* had poſſeſſed. As the new Favourite found the Queen had a great Regard for *Murray*, who had lately given her convincing Proofs of his Fidelity, joined with the Earl of *Huntley* and *John Leſly*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, to deſtroy him. To this End they intimated to the Queen, that he intended to get the Murderers re-called, in order to form a Party againſt her; but ſhe did not believe it, and *Melvil* entirely undeceived her.

Elizabeth being fully informed of what had paſſed, was not ſorry to ſee her good Siſter, for ſo ſhe called *Mary*, purſue a Method contrary to her own Intereſt; yet ſhe contrived a Scheme to dive further into

1566. *Mary*'s Secrets, being ſtill jealous of her. One *Ruxby* was pitched upon, who, feigning to fly out of *England*, and to hate *Elizabeth* mortally, had inſinuated himſelf into *Mary*'s Favour, and found out ſome important Secrets, which confirmed *Elizabeth* in her Suſpicions, that *Mary* had a Deſign upon her Crown: Therefore, ſhe gave the *Scots* Fugitves private Aſſurances of her Protection; deſigning to make Uſe of them when Occaſion ſhould offer to raiſe *Mary* Diſturbances, which ſhould prevent her thinking of *England*.

Mean while Sir *Robert Melvil*, the *Scots* Ambaſſador in *England*, having found out that *Ruxby* was a Spy, gave Notice of it to the Court of *Scotland*, who ordered him to be arreſted with all his Papers.

This Year *Mary* was brought to Bed of a Prince, who was called *James*, and diſpatched *James Melvil* to *London* to carry *Elizabeth* the News. *Melvil*, at the ſame Time, preſſed *Elizabeth* to declare *Mary* her preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*. She coldly anſwered, the Affair was before the Lawyers; and ſhe wiſhed her Title might be found well grounded.

Mary thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove the Suſpicions *Ruxby*'s Intelligence might have given the Court of *England*. For that Purpoſe, ſhe writ a Letter to *Melvil*, which he was to ſhew the Queen; wherein ſhe proteſted, that ſhe expected nothing

in

in regard to *England*, but by the Favour and Friendſhip of her good Siſter. 1566.

Notwithſtanding this Proteſtation, *Elizabeth* was not ignorant what *Mary* was driving at: It was, in a word, to dethrone her, if ſhe could poſſibly find the Means. She thought, if ſhe was once declared next Heir, her Party, which was very great then in *England*, would become more numerous and powerful; and *Elizabeth*'s Policy, on the other hand, was to get *Mary* to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; but they both knew their Intereſts too well to fall into the Snares which they had laid for each other: So *Mary* never ratified the Treaty; neither did *Elizabeth* ever declare her next Heir.

In the Interval between *Mary*'s Lying-in and the Prince's Baptiſm, the Queen was ſeen to treat the King, her Spouſe, with ſo great Contempt, and to put ſuch grievous Affronts upon him, that it was the Talk of the whole Kingdom: Nay, ſome Authors ſpeak of the Queen's Amours with *Bothwell*, in a Manner that ſhews ſhe had loſt all Shame, and no longer regarded what the World ſaid of her.

The Prince's Baptiſm being celebrated at *Stirling*, *Elizabeth* ſtood God-mother by Proxy. While the Court was there, the King was expoſed to unheard-of Indignities, not having dared to ſhew himſelf there, by reaſon of the extreme Want he was reduced to, whilſt *Bothwell* appeared with the Magnificence of a King.

The

1566. The Court being returned to *Edinburgh*, the King was treated there in ſo baſe a Manner, that he reſolved to retire to *Glaſgow*, to the Earl, his Father, who had withdrawn from Court, that he might not be a Witneſs of the baſe Treatment. Juſt as he was going, the Queen ſent and ſeized all his Plate, and gave him Pewter in their Stead.

He was not gone far, till he was ſeized with a violent Diſeaſe, cauſed by Poiſon which had been given him. *Bothwell* had deſigned to diſpatch him, that he might marry the Queen: However, by the Force of Phyſick, and the Strength of his Conſtitution, he got the better of his Diſtemper.

Charles IX. ſent Mr *Rambouillet* into *England* with two Collars of the Order of St *Michael*, which he deſired *Elizabeth* to confer on what two Noblemen ſhe thought fit. She made Choice of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and honour'd the Bearer with the Order of the Garter: But one muſt not ſuffer one's ſelf to be deceived by thoſe external Marks of mutual Eſteem between the two Courts; for there was no Sincerity in all this.

Elizabeth went to viſit the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where ſhe was received in the ſame Manner ſhe had been at *Cambridge*. Never was Prince greater Maſter than herſelf, of the Art of gaining the Love of her Subjects, by kind Actions and affectionate Expreſſions,

preſſions, which ſeemed to flow from the Bottom of her Heart. 1567.

The Parliament being ſitting, both Houſes came to a Reſolution to intreat the Queen to marry, or declare her preſumptive Heir; and ſent the Lord *Bacon*, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to beſeech her, in the Name of the Houſe, to take a Huſband, and to lay the Reaſon before her, how much the national Good depended upon it.

The Queen, in a Speech to both Houſes, gave an Anſwer, which, in no kind, was complying with their Requeſts. The Queen of *Scotland* was at the Bottom of this Affair; which, in all Probability, would have been again brought upon the Board the next Parliament, if, in the mean while, ſhe had not loſt herſelf by her ill Management, and viſibly leſſened her Party in *England*.

All the World agrees, that *Henry Stuart*, King of *Scotland*, Huſband of Queen *Mary*, was aſſaſſinated the Beginning of the Year 1567. It cannot be denied, that this Murder was committed by the Earl of *Bothwell*, or by his Order: That the Earl was then in great Credit with the Queen; and that ſhe married him a few Months after the tragical Death of the King, her Spouſe.

The Queen having heard, that the King had reſolved to withdraw into *Spain*, which ſhe thought would break all the Meaſures ſhe had taken with *Bothwell*; ſhe ſhewed as if ſhe intended to be reconciled to him. To that Purpoſe, ſhe ſent ſeveral tender and af-

1567. affectionate Letters to convince him of her Sincerity. At laſt ſhe went to ſee him at *Glaſgow*, and prevailed with him to return to *Edinburgh* in a Litter; and he was lodged in a loneſome Houſe near the Walls of the City, on Pretence he would be too much diſturbed by the Noiſe of the Palace. For ſome Days the Queen made him frequent Viſits; and omitted nothing to perſuade him, that ſhe did not bear him the leaſt Ill-will.

At length, the Time appointed for the Deed being come, the King was ſtrangled by one of the Servants that lay in the Room with him. As ſoon as he was dead, his Body was carried into a Garden adjoining. Then Fire was ſet to ſome Barrels of Powder which had been placed in the Room, and the Houſe was blown up. I omit numberleſs Circumſtances, whereby *Buchanan* inſinuates the Queen was in the Plot.

Some Hiſtorians aſperſe the Earl of *Murray* with having a Hand in the Plot: But he had left the Court before the Murder was committed, to go and ſee his Wife, who was like to die of a Miſcarriage; and, in ſpite of the Rumour which was ſpread about him, came to Court two Days after the Murder. This ſhews he was in no Dread of the Accuſations of his Enemies; and indeed he was never queſtioned for the Fact.

The Queen keeping her Chamber only a few Days, re-aſſumed her uſual Way of living,

living, having always the Earl of *Bothwell* with her. 1567.

Mean while the People murmured very much, that there was no Enquiry made about the King's Death, of which they openly accuſed *Bothwell*; who, finding he was ſuſpected, ſent to the Chief Juſtice of the Kingdom, and requeſted him to make Inquiſition concerning the Murder of the King. Upon his Requeſt, a Proceeding was begun; but all was ſuppreſſed on a ſudden; and the Court was contented with offering a Reward for diſcovering the Authors of the King's Death: But as every Body was perſuaded, that the Queen and *Bothwell* were guilty, no other Perſon was accuſed; and none was ſo bold as to accuſe them.

The Queen imagining the Complaints of the People would produce a Civil War, was deſirous to have the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* in her Hands, the Cuſtody whereof was delivered to the Earl of *Marr* by the States. The Earl delivered her the Caſtle, upon the Terms of having the Cuſtody of the young Prince, whom he carried to *Stirling*, of which he was Governor alſo.

The Earl of *Lenox*, finding the Queen was very backward to puniſh the Crime of his Son's Murder, ſolicited her by Letters for Juſtice upon *Bothwell*, charging him with being the Author of his Death. This threw the Queen into great Peplexity: And tho' the Queen, in this Caſe, could not deny him Juſtice; yet ſhe uſed all her Artifice to

ſhift

1567. ſhift off this Proſecution, and to get *Bothwell* acquitted.

Every Body ſuſpected the Earl of *Bothwell*; and thoſe who durſt ſpeak freely to others, ſaid plainly, that it was he. Whereupon he drew together a Number of Lords of his Dependants to be an Aſſize, who cleared and acquitted him; ſome for Fear, ſome for Favour, and the greateſt Part in Expectation of Advantage. This Way being aſſailed, he remained ſtill the greateſt Favourite in Court.

Afterwards the Queen being gone to *Stirling* to ſee her Son, as ſhe returned ſhe was met by the Earl of *Bothwell*, with a Company of armed Men, who carried her off, and conducted her to *Dunbar*; but this was all a Farce, carried on by her own Conſent.

When *Bothwell* was at *Dunbar*, he procured a Divorce from his Wife, Daughter to the Earl of *Huntley*, whom he had married but ſix Months before. This Divorce was decreed by two Sentences, one in the Eccleſiaſtical, and the other in the Civil Court, and both at the Suit of the Counteſs of *Bothwell*. He was accuſed of a criminal Commerce with a Kinſwoman of his Wife, and alſo of Adultery; and, upon his Confeſſion, the Marriage was annulled.

Bothwell being thus parted from his Wife, carried the Queen to *Edinburgh*; and the next Day ſhe appeared in the Courts of Juſtice, and declared ſhe was entirely free. This was done to prevent an Objection which might

might be taken from her Captivity, to annull the Marriage ſhe intended; which was ſo odious in all its Circumſtances, that it was very hard to find a Pretence to leſſen the Horror of it. 1567.

The only Method the Queen and *Bothwell* could find, was to make the Lords of the Court Accomplices of the ſame Crime. To that End *Bothwell* having invited them to Dinner, preſented to them, and cauſed them to ſubſcribe a Paper; the Purport whereof was,

That they judged it was much the Queen's Intereſt to marry Bothwell, *he having many Friends in* Lothian *and upon the Borders, which would cauſe good Order to be kept*; and added, *that the Queen could not but marry him, ſeeing he had carried her away, and lain with her againſt her Will.* (This Paper would have been a good Evidence, if he had been proſecuted for a Rape.) However, the Marriage was ſolemnized, after the Manner of the Proteſtants, by the Biſhop of *Orkney*.

The Queen ſaw a great Change in her People upon this Marriage. Many that before had believed her innocent, were now thoroughly convinced, that ſhe and *Bothwell* were the Cauſe of the King's Death.

For this Reaſon, ſhe reſolved to fortify herſelf and Huſband, by forming a League with the Great Men. All thoſe that depended upon *Bothwell*, readily ſigned the League; but there was another conſiderable

1567. Party to be gained, otherwiſe the League of the Court would be of little Power.

They began with the Earl of *Murray*, thinking he might influence all the reſt; but he refuſed to ſign it, and deſired Leave to withdraw into *France*; which was granted, and is a clear Evidence he had no Concern in the Murder: for, if he had been in the Secret, he would not have withdrawn, when he might have commanded any Favour under that Suppoſition, and even might have been in fear of being proſecuted for oppoſing the Court, if they could have laid any thing to his Charge.

Mean time all *Scotland* loudly complained, that the King's Murderer was not proſecuted. In ſhort, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Morton*, *Marr*, *Athol*, *Glencairn*, and the Baron of *Boyd*, ſigned a Confederacy to bring the King's Murderer to condign Puniſhment, and to cauſe the Queen's late Marriage to be diſſolved. They imagined the Queen would not be ſorry, ſince *Melvil* told it, that he heard her one Day call for a Knife to ſtab herſelf, not being able to bear his brutiſh Uſage. (A juſt Judgment for her Behaviour to the late King!)

The Confederates marched to *Edinburgh*; but the Queen and *Bothwell* having Notice, retired to *Dunbar*. The City opened the Gates; but Sir *James Balfour*, Governor of the Caſtle, gave the Confederates to underſtand he would not give up the Caſtle.

In the mean while the Queen and *Bothwell*

well had drawn together ſome Troops; but the Confederates were in a very great Perplexity. They had little Money; and *Balfour* refuſed to give them any Artillery or Ammunition: So, after ſeveral Conſultations, they had almoſt determined to return to their ſeveral Homes. 1567.

The Queen and *Bothwell* being informed of their Condition, marched immediately towards *Edinburgh*, in Hopes of ſurprizing them before they ſhould come to a Reſolution. News of this being brought to the Confederates in the Night, they reſolved to go and meet the Queen, and decide the Buſineſs by a Battle. The Queen ſeeing this Turn in Affairs, ſent to the Confederates to know their Demands; which was, that *Bothwell*, who was looked upon as the King's Murderer, ſhould be turned away: upon which they would honour and obey her.

Bothwell ſeeing no Remedy, choſe to retire to *Dunbar*, and the Queen put herſelf into the Hands of the Confederates. She was carried to *Edinburgh*, and lodged in the Provoſt's Houſe, under a Guard; one of which ſhe bribed, and gave him a Letter for *Bothwell*, full of tender and affectionate Expreſſions, and promiſing never to forſake him. This Letter coming to the Confederate Lords by Accident, they ſhut her up in the Caſtle of *Lochleven*, under the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Murray*'s Mother; and, for the future, became more watchful over her.

Bothwell ſent to *Balfour* for a Caſket, which

1567. which he had truſted him with, which was delivered to the Meſſenger: However, it fell into the Hands of the Confederate Lords, who opened it, and found ſeveral Love Verſes and Letters, and ſome Papers that contained the whole Plot againſt the late King, and the Manner it was to be put in Execution. This made *Bothwell* retire to the *Iſle of Orkney*, where he turned Pyrate for ſome time.

The Confederate Lords judged it abſolutely neceſſary to take away from her the Adminiſtration. For that Purpoſe they ſent the Earl of *Lindſay*, to perſuade her to reſign the Crown to her Son. She was threatened with a publick Trial for the Murder of the late King, if ſhe refuſed: So, fearing the worſt, ſhe gave her Conſent, and ſigned her Reſignation; and ſoon after the young King, only a Year old, was inaugurated.

Shortly after ſome Lords, who were not of the Confederacy, met together at *Hamilton*. The Confederates ſent to know the Meaning of it. They returned for Anſwer, that they were not met with an Intent to offend any Perſon, but to provide for their own Safety, ſince all the late Reſolutions had been taken without conſulting them. They were afraid ſome ill Deſigns were hatching againſt them. Indeed from this ſmall Number of Lords conveen'd at *Hamilton*, aroſe a Party, which declared at length for the Queen, and ſerved to keep up a long While the Troubles of the Kingdom.

With

With the Queen's Conſent, and the Confederate Lords, the Earl of *Murray* was recalled from *France*, and declared Regent. He afterwards writ to the *Hamiltonians*, (for ſo they called the Lords aſſembled at *Hamilton*) to deſire them to come and join with the reſt of the States, in what ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the Good of the Kingdom; but they refuſed to come. *Murray* not thinking fit, however, to defer the Convention of the States, above 200 Lords and Gentlemen were called, who confirmed the Regency by a Decree. 1567.

The new Regent's firſt Care was to remove *Balfour*, who had rendered himſelf ſuſpected, from the Government of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, and to confer it on the Laird of *Grainge*. Mean while the *Hamiltonians* ſigned an Aſſociation; the Intent whereof was, to ſet the Queen at Liberty, and on the Throne again.

During the reſt of the Year, the Regent took into his Hands all the ſtrong Places of the Kingdom, and beſtowed the Offices and Governments as he judged neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Publick Peace. He took Care, before all Things, to cauſe Juſtice to be adminſtered punctually and impartially. I ſhall now return to the Affairs of *England*.

The Term of the Reſtitution of *Calais* being expired, *Elizabeth* ſent to the King of *France* to demand that Place: But the King of *France* was ſo far from agreeing to it, that he

1567. he anſwered, that thoſe who had the Aſſurance to propoſe the Reſtitution of that Place, not only deſerved Death, but a worſe Puniſhment, *Damnation*: For ſince God had been pleaſed that the *French* ſhould recover *Calais*, he thereby ſet the natural Bounds between the two Kingdoms.

Elizabeth would have aſſerted her Right to *Calais*; but the Poſture of her Affairs would not allow her to enter into a War with *France*. Her Intention was not to invade, but to defend and maintain herſelf on the Throne. This was her Care during her Reign.

About this Time there were ſome Commotions in *Ireland*, occaſioned by the Rebellion of *Shan-O Neal*, a Lord of great Intereſt in the North; but they ended with the Death of the Rebel, who was ſlain by his own People.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, who was moſt in the Queen's Favour, loſt his Dutcheſs this Year; and, by that Means, he unfortunately ſaw himſelf in a Condition to form Projects, which, in the End, brought on his Ruin.

The Kings of *France* and *Spain* at once waged War with the Proteſtants of *France* and the *Low Countries*, with an Intent to extirpate that Religion. *Elizabeth* thought, that if their Deſign ſucceeded, they would join their Forces againſt her: Therefore, thought it abſolutely neceſſary to let the King of *France* know, that ſhe was concerned in the

the Preſervation of the *Hugonots*. To that Purpoſe, ſhe ſent an Ambaſſador to *Cha.* IX. to interceed earneſtly for them; and gave to underſtand, that ſhe knew her own Intereſt too well to ſuffer them to be entirely ruined. Theſe Threats from *England*, their own Reſolution, and the Aid they had from *Germany*, procured them a Peace. 1568.

At the ſame Time *Philip* II. ſhewed the Spite he had conceived againſt *Elizabeth*, by confining her Ambaſſador to a Country Village. On the other hand, Sir *John Hawkins*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of *Mexico* with five Ships, by virtue of a Treaty between *Charles* V. and *Henry* VIII. was inſulted by the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which took and rifled three of his Ships. Theſe Outrages were very grievous to *Elizabeth*, eſpecially as the Merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a War with *Spain*: But the Situation of her Affairs would not allow her at preſent, eſpecially ſince the Affairs of *Scotland* had taken a new Turn, and might have, with regard to her, very important Conſequences.

Mary Queen of *Scotland* had ſtill a pretty ſtrong Party, tho' a Priſoner, conſiſting of all the Catholicks, and thoſe that envied and hated the Earl of *Murray*. The Truth is, thoſe People, for the moſt part, troubled themſelves but little about the Queen; but they thought ſhe could afford them a plauſible Handle to act againſt the Regent. On the other hand, in the Regent's

1568. gent's Party itſelf, which was called the King's, there were ſome that had joined with it, purely to ruin *Bothwell*, whom they hated and feared.

Grainge, who was of this Number, being informed, that *Bothwell* was playing the Pyrate, equipped ſome Veſſels, and purſued him, and obliged him at length to run his Ship aſhore, and eſcape to Land in a Boat. His Ship was taken with his Servants, who gave Information of ſeveral Things concerning the late King's Murder, which reflected upon the Queen. *Bothwell* retired into *Denmark*, where he was taken up and thrown into Priſon. He lived there ten Years in extreme Miſery, which turned his Brains.

Bothwell being no longer to be feared, all thoſe that had declared againſt the Queen, merely from their Hatred to him, forſook the King's Party, ſome privately, others openly.

Mean while the Regent being gone to *Glaſgow*, the Queen made her Eſcape, and went to *Hamilton* Caſtle.

This News made ſeveral forſake the Regent, and go over to the Queen; which put him in a very great Perplexity: However, he reſolved to give her Battle; and, aſſembling ſome Troops, tho' not near ſo numerous as the Queen's, he departed from *Glaſgow*, at the very Time the Queen was marching to give him Battle. Her Army was 40,000 ſtrong, and the Regent had but 4000 Men. The Battle began, and the Queen loſt the Day,

Day; and for fear of falling into the Hands of her Enemies, fled towards the Borders of *England*, and ſent *John Beton* to *Elizabeth* to deſire her Protection; but before an Anſwer arrived, fearing to be diſcovered in her Retreat, ſhe went on board a ſmall Veſſel, and came to *Workington*, in *Cumberland*, attended only by the Lords *Harris* and *Fleming*, and a few Servants. 1568.

Elizabeth, being informed of what had paſſed, ſent Sir *Francis Knolles* to comfort her; and ordered her to be lodged at a Gentleman's Houſe, where ſhe was treated like a Queen: After that ſhe was conducted to *Carliſle*, where *Elizabeth* ſent her Word, that as ſhe ſtood charged, by the Voice of the Publick, with being concerned in the Murder of the King her Husband, ſhe could not ſee her till ſhe had cleared herſelf of ſo heinous an Accuſation. Whereupon it was agreed, that *Elizabeth* ſhould hear her Defence, and give her Protection if ſhe was found innocent. But this was only to amuſe her, till *Elizabeth*'s Council had come to a Reſolution what to do with her: and the Point in Diſpute, was not to find out what was moſt conſiſtent with Juſtice or Generoſity, but what was moſt advantageous. Therefore it was reſolved to detain her a Priſoner, tho' *Elizabeth* pretended that it was only till ſuch Time as ſhe had cleared herſelf of the Accuſation.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the Regent called a Parliament at *Edinburgh*,

1568. in order to get those condemn'd that had taken up Arms against the King; but the opposite Party did all they could to hinder the Meeting of this Parliament: but finding all they could do was in vain, they applied to *Elizabeth*, representing to her, that the Regent, by an unseasonable Session of a Parliament, was going to drive the principal Lords of *Scotland* to Despair, and offered to take her for Umpire.

This Offer was very agreeable to *Elizabeth*, because she could thereby have the Management of the Affair in her own Hands, and spin it out to what Length she pleased. She therefore sent to desire *Murray* to put off the Meeting of the Parliament till she was informed of the whole Affair, but he refused.

The Parliament breaking up, the Regent raised an Army, in order to pursue those who were condemned: He reduced several Places to the Obedience of the King; and probably would have over-run the whole Kingdom, if *Elizabeth* had not interposed.

Elizabeth found so great Advantage in becoming Umpire of the Affairs of *Scotland*, that she took Care not to let slip the present Opportunity, without making the most of it. To compass her Ends the more easily, she plainly hinted, that she believed the Queen of *Scots* innocent; and that she herself was concerned in her Quarrel: She knew how to disguise her Sentiments so well, that the *Scots* Queen's Friends, blinded by these Appearances, persuaded the unfortunate Queen,

Queen, to offer to appoint Commiſſioners, 1568.
to defend her Cauſe before *Elizabeth*; and
ſo fell into the Snare *Elizabeth* had laid for her.

This done, *Elizabeth* writ to the Regent, to ſend Deputies and Witneſſes to *York*, in order that ſhe might hear what he had to ſay in Vindication of his Conduct. In ſhort, ſhe gave him to underſtand, ſhe ſhould take his Refuſal as an authentick Proof of *Mary*'s Innocence, and aſſiſt her in re-aſſuming the Crown.

The Regent was at a Loſs what to do: It was dangerous, for a Regent of *Scotland*, to put to Arbitration an Affair already decided by the Parliament; and diſhonourable to anſwer before a foreign Power. On the other hand, he was afraid that his Refuſal would be conſtrued as a Sign that he miſtruſted the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and ſo put *Elizabeth* upon replacing *Mary* on the Throne.

After a full Conſultation on ſo nice a Point, he reſolved to go himſelf to *York*, and took nine Deputies to aſſiſt him. *Mary* nominated ſeveral Lords to appear on her Behalf; and *Elizabeth* commiſſioned *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, to go and hear what both Parties had to ſay.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, who had a Deſign to marry *Mary*, had the Sagacity to diſcover *Elizabeth*'s Intentions, and intended to break her Meaſures: He had ordered the Earl

of

1568. of *Weſtmoreland*, his Lieutenant in the Preſidentſhip of the North, to kill the Earl of *Murray*, when he came upon the Borders, and ſeize all his Papers; but having altered his Mind, he revoked the Order.

However, all Parties being met, the Duke told the Earl of *Lidington*, who attended the Regent as Deputy and Secretary of State, that he could not imagine what Reaſon had induced the *Scots*, to come and accuſe the Queen before *Engliſh* Commiſſioners; that by ſo doing, they greatly diſhonoured their Nation, and would one Day be reſponſible for it.

Lidington replied, that he was very glad to find him of his Mind; that for his Part he had done his utmoſt to hinder the Regent from taking this Step; that *Grainge* had done the ſame, but to no Purpoſe. He deſired *Norfolk* to ſpeak to the Regent himſelf, and diſſuade him from accuſing the Queen.

Norfolk upon this ſpoke to the Regent in private, and told him, that *Elizabeth* was only amuſing them; that if he had a-mind to be convinced of this, he need only require *Elizabeth* to give an Engagement under her own Hand, to give Sentence as ſoon as the Proofs were produced; and to take the King of *Scotland*'s Part, in caſe the Queen his Mother ſhould be found guilty: and he would find *Elizabeth* would refuſe this. In ſhort, he managed the Regent ſo well, that he approved of this Scheme.

At the next Meeting, the Regent being preſſed to bring in his Proofs, replied juſt

as

as had been agreed with *Norfolk*, to the great Surprize of every Body but thoſe who were in the Secret: And the Regent ſent Deputies to *Elizabeth*, to have this Engagement under her own Hand. 1568.

Elizabeth, ſurprized at this, ſent for the Regent and Deputies to *London*, to know the Reaſon why they diſputed her Word; when they arrived, ſhe appointed other Commiſſioners, namely, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, *Cecil*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and Sir *William Sadler*. 'Tis likely ſhe ſuſpected *Norfolk* of ſome Prevarication.

The Commiſſioners being met at *Hampton* Court, the Earl of *Murray* was again preſſed to give in his Proofs; but he ſtill inſiſted firſt on *Elizabeth*'s ſigning her Engagements as above.

The Earl of *Morton* happening to be informed of this Agreement with *Norfolk*, by ſome whom *Mary* had truſted with the Secret, he acquainted Secretary *Cecil* with it. What paſſed afterwards between *Cecil* and *Murray* is not known, but it may be conjectured by what followed.

At the firſt Meeting, after this Diſcovery, *Wood*, Secretary to the Regent, (ſeeing all the *Scots*, except *Lidington*, were for producing the Proofs) pretending a Zeal for his Maſter, ſaid, it was not from a Spirit of Cavilling, as ſome thought, that the Regent would not give in the Accuſation; for that he would give them immediately, upon *Elizabeth*'s ſigning the Engagement: and with that

1568. that took the Papers out of his Boſom, and ſhewed them to every Body: The Biſhop of *Orkney* ſnatched them out of his Hand with Eaſe, and gave them to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners. It is evident that *Cecil* had gained the Regent; and this was only a Fetch, that he might in ſome Meaſure keep his Word with *Norfolk*.

A Day being ſet for reading the Proofs, *Mary*'s Deputies produced a formal Revocation of their Commiſſion, and an Exception againſt the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, unleſs the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors were joined with them: *Mary* demanded further, that the Earl of *Murray* ſhould be ſent to Priſon, affirming ſhe could convict him of being Author of the King's Murder.

As ſoon as *Mary* found *Elizabeth*, inſtead of ſerving her as ſhe expected, wanted to bring to light what was capable of diſhonouring her, ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary to avoid ſuch an Examination; tho', by her Letters to *Elizabeth*, ſhe had deſired an Opportunity to make her Innocence appear. However, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners proceeded to an Examination of the Proofs. The Earl of *Murray* produced the Confeſſions of thoſe who were executed for being concerned in the King's Murder; then he read the Decree of the States, ratifying the Queen's Reſignation of the Crown; after which he produced the fatal Caſket, which *Bothwell* would have taken from the Caſtle of

of *Edinburgh*, and ſhewed the Letters and Contracts ſpoken of before. 1568.

This Examination being over, *Elizabeth* forbore to decide either for or againſt, as ſhe had reſolved; and put off the Concluſion of the Buſineſs till another Time. Thus ſhe got all ſhe wanted; that is to ſay, a Pretence to detain *Mary* till the Affair ſhould be more fully cleared; and withall the Proofs, which would very probably hinder *Mary* and her Friends from ſoliciting a Deciſion.

Murray offered to clear himſelf of the King's Murder, before *Mary*'s Deputies; but they thought proper to drop their Accuſations: and in a Conference with *Elizabeth*, *Murray* informed her of all that paſſed between him and *Norfolk*, and of the Intrigue between *Mary* and him; upon which *Elizabeth* ordered the Queen of *Scots* to be removed to *Tilbury Caſtle*.

While theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the King of *France* broke the Peace granted to the *Hugonots*; and the Perſecution againſt them was re-kindled with greater Fury than ever. The King forbad them the Exerciſe of their Religion, and baniſhed all their Miniſters: Whereupon they ſued for Aid to *Elizabeth*, who ſent them 100,000 Crowns of Gold, with a good Train of Artillery; ſhe foreſaw, that if ſhe ſuffered them to be oppreſſed, the Flame would ſoon reach *England*.

The Duke of *Alva* proceeded in the ſame Manner in the Low Countries, which compel-

1569. pelled Abundance of *Flemiſh* Families to fly to *England* for Refuge. The Queen gave them Leave to ſettle in ſeveral good Towns, where they contributed very much to cauſe Trade to flouriſh.

About the Cloſe of this Year an Accident happened, which occaſioned a Quarrel between the Queen, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alva*. The *Genoa* Merchants, and ſome others of *Italy*, having a great Sum of Money in *Spain*; and reſolving to ſend it into the Low Countries, obtained a Paſſport of the King of *Spain*, and put the Money on board ſome Veſſels of *Biſcay*. Theſe Ships being attacked in their Paſſage by *French* Pyrates, did with much ado eſcape into *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, and *Southampton*: As ſoon as the Queen had Notice of it, ſhe ordered the Magiſtrates to treat the *Spaniards* civilly.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador told the Queen the Money belonged to his Maſter, and obtained Leave to have it landed: but at the ſame Time the Queen was informed, that it belonged to ſome Merchants; and that the Duke of *Alva* intended to ſeize it, to help him to carry on the War: So, to deprive the Duke of *Alva* of this Aſſiſtance, the Queen took the Money by way of Loan, and gave Security for the Re-payment. Sometime after, the Duke of *Alva* demanding the Money, the Queen replied, ſhe would punctually return it, as ſoon as it appeared by good Proofs to be the King of *Spain*'s.

Spain's. Upon this Refuſal, the Duke ſeized all the Effects of the *Engliſh*, and ſent the Owners to Priſon; and the Queen did the like by the *Flemings*. 1569.

Amongſt all *Elizabeth*'s Miniſters and Counſellors, there was not one ſo heartily attached to her Intereſt as *Cecil*, who was Secretary of State. He was a great Enemy to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, therefore her Friends contrived a Plot againſt him.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter*, and others, entered into this ſort of Conſpiracy. They accuſed *Cecil* of being the Cauſe of the Queen's detaining the *Spaniſh* Money; and by that, of her running a manifeſt Riſk of a War with *Spain*. They flattered themſelves, that upon this Charge the Queen would ſend him to Priſon; and then they would find Methods to work his Ruin: But the Queen being too quick-ſighted, not to ſee into their Aim, commanded them to be ſilent in ſuch a Manner that they had no Hopes of Succeſs.

The Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Commerce with *England*, and the King of *Spain* ſeized the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants there, by way of Repriſal, for the Money ſtopt in *England*: moreover, he endeavoured to bribe the Duke of *Norfolk*, in *England*, and the Earl of *Ormond*, in *Ireland*, to raiſe a Rebellion: But theſe two Lords diſcovered it to the Queen; and the *Engliſh*, on Pre-

1569. tence of the Injury done to their Countrymen, fell upon all the Merchantmen belonging to the *Spaniards*. They did ſo much Damage to the *Spaniards*, by their Cruiſings, that the Queen feared an open War, ſo iſſued her Proclamation to reſtrain them.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* Trade ſuffered in *Spain* and the Netherlands, it had like to have been quite loſt in *Muſcovy*, by the Avarice of the *Engliſh* Merchants, who had vexed the *Czar*: However, *Elizabeth* managed Matters ſo, that ſhe entered into an Alliance with him, which reſtored the Trade; tho' ſhe thought it no great Honour to be allied with a Prince ſo notorious for his Cruelties.

A Secret was carried on for ſome time by *Mary*'s Friends, to have her married to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and all the Articles of Marriage were concluded before it was made known to *Elizabeth*: but ſhe at laſt diving into the whole Affair, ſent *Norfolk* to the Tower with ſome others; and all the reſt of the Lords, that were concerned in making up the Match, were baniſhed the Court. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, both very powerful in the North, had held together ſeveral Conferences, of which the Queen had Notice, and which cauſed her to order them to repair to Court; but the two Earls knowing themſelves guilty in promoting the Match, and not daring to truſt to the Queen's Mercy, took up Arms and drew ſome Forces together.

The

The Rebels publiſhed a Manifeſto, where- 1569.
in they ſaid their Intent was, to reſtore the Religion of their Fore-fathers, remove evil Counſellors from the Queen, and cauſe Juſtice to be done to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the other Lords now in Priſon or under Diſgrace: At the ſame Time they writ circular Letters to the Catholicks, inviting them to come and join them; but the moſt part ſent the Letters they had received to the Queen, with the Bearers thereof.

The Rebels being come to *Durham*, burnt all the *Engliſh* Bibles and common Prayer-books, and openly ſaid Maſs. Their Army was now 4000 Foot and 600 Horſe. Their Deſign was firſt to free the Queen of *Scots*, and ſet her at their Head; but ſhe was ſent to *Coventry*, a City able to ſtand a long Siege.

The Queen levied Troops with all Speed: The Earl of *Suſſex* had got 7000 Men, the Lord *Clinton* was at the Head of 12,000, and the Earl of *Cumberland*, with the Lord *Scroop*, were near *Carliſle*, with a good Body of Troops.

The Rebels hearing of the Preparations, and finding their Troops did not increaſe, diſperſed. The Earl of *Northumberland* went and lurked in *Scotland*, where he was betrayed into *Murray*'s Hands. The Earl of *Weſtmoreland* eſcaped into the Netherlands, where he ſpent the Reſidue of his Days, living upon a ſmall Penſion allowed him by the King of *Spain*. Some of the Rebels were

1569. were executed for Example, the reſt were pardoned.

This Rebellion was quickly followed by another, of which *Leonard Dacres*, a Gentleman of the North, was the Head. The Lord *Hunſdown* gave him Battle, with the Garriſon of *Berwick*, near the little River *Gelt*. *Dacres* behaved very gallantly, but being vanquiſhed, he eſcaped into *Flanders*, where he died. The Queen pardoned all the reſt.

At the ſame Time there were ſome Commotions in *Ireland*, in which the King of *Spain* had a Hand; but they were eaſily allayed.

It is uncertain, whether the Duke of *Norfolk* was concerned in the late Rebellions; yet ſeveral Circumſtances made it againſt him. However, the Queen was contented with keeping him in Priſon, till *September* the next Year.

The Duke of *Chatelherault* arrived from *France* to *London* a little before the Earl of *Murray*'s Departure. He forthwith demanded *Elizabeth*'s Aid and Protection, to help him to the Regency of *Scotland*: but *Elizabeth* knew her own Intereſt too well, to agree to any ſuch Thing; and the Earl of *Murray* departed for *Scotland*.

Chatelherault followed a little after, with a Patent from *Mary*; whereby it appeared, that by a new and unheard-of Right, ſhe had adopted him for her Father, and, as ſuch, committed to him the Regency of the Kingdom.

Mur-

Murray hearing this, drew together an Army, to compel him to ſubmit to the Government. The Queen's Party was become weak ſince her Flight; and *Chatelherault*'s Dependance was to be upon the good Succeſs of the Project which was forming in favour of the Duke of *Norfolk*: But as he was not in a Condition to take up Arms, he ſet therefore his Friends to talk with the Regent; and it was agreed, that he ſhould come to *Glaſgow*, acknowledge the King's Authority, and renounce the Queen's. 1569.

Then the Regent iſſued a Proclamation, offering to all, who till then had refuſed the King's Authority, to receive their Submiſſions, and reſtore them to their Eſtates. But the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley* would not accept of theſe Terms, being extremely diſguſted at the Duke of *Chatelherault*'s putting himſelf into the Hands of the Earl of *Murray*; who ſoon after ſent him and Lord *Harris* Priſoners to *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

Shortly after, the Regent conveened the chief of the Nobility at *Perth*, and communicated to them ſeveral Letters he had received, which diſcovered the carrying on of a Plot in favour of *Norfolk*'s Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*.

Mary at the ſame Time writ to the States of *Scotland*, to have her Marriage diſſolved with *Bothwell*, who was ſtill alive in *Denmark*.

Elizabeth writ a Letter to the States, wherein ſhe demanded one of theſe three Things;

1569. Things: the 1ſt, that *Mary* ſhould be reſtored to the Throne as formerly; the 2d, that ſhe ſhould reign jointly with the King her Son; the 3d, that ſhe might live in *Scotland* with ſuch Honours as ſhould not be prejudicial to the King's Authority. Since *Elizabeth* left the Choice to them, it was eaſy to judge they would chuſe the laſt; which they accordingly did, and ſent to let *Elizabeth* know. But as to *Mary*'s Letter, they did not think proper to give any Anſwer to it.

The Regent perceiving the Queen's Party in *Scotland* grew ſtronger, arreſted the Earl of *Lidington*, who feigning to be attached to the King's Party, ſerved the Queen to the utmoſt of his Power; but *Grainge* coming unexpectedly with part of the Garriſon of the Caſtle, reſcued him, promiſing he ſhould be forthcoming when required.

Mean while the Duke of *Norfolk* having been ſent to the Tower, without any Thing done of what he had projected, all *Mary*'s Deſigns, as well in *Scotland* as in *England*, vaniſhed. Shortly after, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle* made up Matters with the Regent, and ſubmitted to the King's Authority.

The *Hugonots*, in *France*, having loſt a Battle at *Moncontour*, ſent for a ſpeedy Aid to *Elizabeth*; who lent them Money, and gave leave that a Company of 100 Gentlemen-Volunteers ſhould be raiſed for their Service: Amongſt the Volunteers was *Walter*

ter *Raleigh*, a very young Man, who now first began to be taken Notice of. 1570.

The Duke of *Alva* ſtill continued his Oppreſſions in the Low Countries. He had ſet up the Inquiſition, and ordered the Council of *Trent* to be received, as well as the new Biſhops, whom they had hitherto refuſed to acknowledge; and the bloody Council proceeded with Fury.

The Beginning of the Year 1570, the Regent ſent the Earl of *Northumberland* to Priſon, whom he found concealed in *Scotland*.

A few Days after, the Earl of *Murray* was ſhot through the Body, by one of the Family of the *Hamiltons*; who pretended he did it to revenge a private Injury, but it ſoon appeared it was done by the Direction of the Queen's Faction.

On the Morrow, the Queen's Party entered *England* in Arms, and deſtroyed the Borders with Fire and Sword. Their Scheme in this was, to make *Elizabeth* enter *Scotland* with an Army; and this would revive the old Animoſity between the two Nations, and ſo all *Scotland* would be united againſt *England*: and that then Succours might be ſafely ſent for from *France* and *Spain*.

Immediately after *Murray*'s Death, *Grainge* ſet the Earl of *Lidington* at Liberty, who uſed all his Endeavours to hinder the King's Party from proceeding to an Election of a new Regent. He offered, that for the Good of the Nation, it would be beſt for all the great

1570. great Men, of both Parties, to join in chuſing a Regent.

Elizabeth and her Council were too wiſe to be led into the Snare. She ſent to complain of the Inroad made into *England*; but, inſtead of laying the Fault upon the whole Nation, as the Authors of the Invaſion were in Hopes of, ſhe ſent Word withall by her Ambaſſador, that ſhe was very ſenſible thoſe who governed *Scotland* had no Hand in the Outrage; and therefore ſhe was willing to diſtinguiſh the Innocent from the Guilty. She demanded, however, a ſuitable Reparation; and if they who were at the Helm could not procure it for her, ſhe offered them the Aſſiſtance of her Forces; and got ready an Army, which ſhe intended to ſend into *Scotland*, as well to revenge her Subjects, as to ſupport the King's Party, and cauſe a Regent to be elected, who ſhould not be againſt the Intereſt of *England*.

The Laird *Grainge* ſet at Liberty the Duke of *Chatelherault*, the Lord *Harris*, and the reſt of the Priſoners; and thereby the Queen's Party was conſiderably ſtrengthened.

Elizabeth ſent the Duke of *Suſſex* to *Scotland*, at the Head of her Army; and being come to *Berwick*, the Queen's Party, who had been aſſembled at *Edinburgh*, broke up upon the News of it. The Heads ſent to *Elizabeth*, and offered ſhe ſhould be Mediatrix between the two Parties; which ſhe readily

readily accepted. But ſhe proceeded with her Army, the Buſineſs being to chaſtiſe the Violaters of the Peace. 1570.

The *Engliſh* entered *Scotland*, and ravaged the Lands of all thoſe who were concerned in the late Incurſion into *England*. In this Expedition were burnt above 300 Houſes, and about 50 Caſtles.

The States met at *Edinburgh* in order to chuſe a Regent; and ſent to acquaint *Elizabeth* they were ready to chuſe one to her liking.

She returned for Anſwer, that ſhe had not yet been informed of the Poſture of Affairs in *Scotland*; therefore a Conference ſhould be held between the two Parties firſt, wherein ſhe was very willing to act as Mediatrix; and in the Interim propoſed a Suſpenſion of Arms.

This Demand very much embarraſſed the States. They could not any longer remain without a Head, and yet they durſt not diſoblige *Elizabeth*: wherefore they reſolved to elect an Inter-rex, who could be revoked without any Damage; and the Choice fell upon the Earl of *Lenox*, who was then in *England*.

Shortly after, they received a Letter from *Elizabeth*, acquainting them with her Conſent that they might chuſe a Regent; and recommended to them the Earl of *Lenox*, who was choſen immediately.

The Earl of *Huntley* having received from

1570. *Spain* Money and Ammunition, took the Field, and ſtored the Caſtle of *Brechin*.

The Earl of *Lenox* ſoon after came to *Scotland*, and drew together his Forces, and demanded Artillery and Ammunition of *Grainge*, Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, who refuſed them; for he was properly of the Queen's Party. The Regent, however, became Maſter of *Brechin*, and compelled the Earl of *Huntley* to fly to the Mountains.

While theſe Things paſt, ſeveral Plots were forming in *England* to free the Captive Queen. The *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors ſolicited in her favour; and the Pope cauſed a Bull to be fixed up, in the Night, in ſeveral Places in *London*, whereby he excommunicated *Elizabeth*, and abſolved her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance.

The *Norfolk* Gentlemen had reſolved to take up Arms; but their Plot was timely diſcovered, and the Queen pardoned all except three who were executed: And the Duke of *Norfolk* was diſcharged from the Tower, upon his proteſting he would never marry the Queen of *Scots*.

Elizabeth finding ſo many Solicitations for *Mary*'s Releaſement, propoſed certain Articles to be executed between them; upon which ſhe was to be ſet at Liberty. But ſeveral of them not being agreed to, the Matter was dropt.

Elizabeth, 'tis certain, had no Deſign to releaſe her Priſoner: She was a dangerous Rival, even when in Priſon; how much more

more had ſhe been if at Liberty? For it was manifeſt, the Pope, the King of *Spain*, the Princes of *Lorrain*, the *Engliſh* Catholicks, all the *Iriſh*, and part of the *Scots*, had a Deſign to place her on the Throne of *England*. *Robert Melvil*, at his Return from his Ambaſſy to *England*, gave Queen *Mary* a Paper, ſigned by 25 *Engliſh* Earls and Lords; engaging themſelves to ſet her on the Throne of *England*. *Mary* ſent the Paper to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, her Uncle, deſiring the Aſſiſtance neceſſary to execute that Deſign: So *Elizabeth* had good Reaſon to be jealous of her Priſoner; tho' ſhe feigned to be ignorant of this Matter. *Melvil* ſays, he had this from *Mary*'s own Mouth: And *Elizabeth* was informed of it from the Court of *France*; whoſe Intereſt it was to keep the two Kingdoms from uniting. 1570.

The Council of *England*, taking Advantage of theſe Diſpoſitions, never ceaſed fomenting the Troubles of *Scotland*, under colour of appeaſing them, till it ſhould be *Elizabeth*'s Intereſt to put an End to them.

The King of *France* finding that the *Hugonots* rather choſe to die Sword-in-Hand, than at the Stake, granted them a Peace.

Secretary *Cecil* was created Baron of *Burleigh*, this Year. No Man deſerved better than he to receive this Mark of Diſtinction.

The Earl of *Morton*, *Pitcairn*, and others, were ſent from *Scotland*, to the Conference which was to be held at *London*, to maintain

1571. tain the King's Cauſe: For *Mary* appeared the Biſhops of *Roſs* and *Galloway*, with the Lord *Livingſton*. And *Elizabeth* appointed Seven of her Privy Counſellors to hear the Reaſons of both Parties.

Both Parties being heard, *Elizabeth* agreed *Mary* was unworthy to ſway the Scepter; but ſhe could not believe her Subjects had Power to depoſe her: That, therefore, ſhe was in ſuſpenſe, not being able to determine, either to reſtore *Mary*, or defend the Cauſe of the *Scots*; becauſe ſhe did not think it altogether juſt. Thus *Elizabeth* ſpun out the Time, her real Deſign being to keep on foot the Troubles of *Scotland*.

The Conference being over, and the Truce between the two *Scots* Factions being expired, the Earl of *Lenox* took the Town of *Dunbar*, by Surprize, from the Queen's Adherents. The Archbiſhop of St *Andrew*'s was condemned to be hanged; he was accuſed of being an Accomplice in the late King's Murder.

A Negociation was ſet on foot, of a Marriage between *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*; which laſted ſome Time, but broke off: at laſt, however, it ended in a defenſive Alliance between *France* and *England*.

Mary, ſeeing ſhe was to loſe *France* for her Friend, writ to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, a State of her Affairs; and withall to engage them in her Favour: and writ to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to let him know what ſhe had done.

Nor-

Norfolk, upon this, reſumed his Deſign of marrying *Mary*; having a Promiſe of Aſſiſtance from *Spain* to forward his Project: But *Higford*, *Norfolk*'s Secretary, being arreſted, diſcovered the Letters *Mary* had writ to his Maſter. Whereupon the Duke was apprehended and ſent to the Tower. 1571.

The Biſhop of *Roſs*, who was at the Bottom of this Affair, and reſided at *London*, as *Mary*'s Ambaſſador, was alſo ſent to the Tower. He confeſſed, he had adviſed the Duke of *Norfolk* to ſeize the Queen's Perſon, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Lords; and detain her in Cuſtody till he had married the Queen of *Scots*: but the Duke refuſed to come into this Project. He added, that he only did it to try him. He ſaid, that the Project of the Marriage was again ſet on foot, and Endeavours were to be uſed for *Mary* to make her Eſcape; which No-body could wonder at, ſince ſhe was a Priſoner, and in the Flower of her Age.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Impriſonment making a great Noiſe in *France* and elſewhere, *Elizabeth* cauſed the Reaſons of it to be imparted to *Charles* IX: Yet no great Heed was given to her Complaints againſt *Mary*.

But the Parliament of *England* took *Elizabeth*'s Intereſt extremely to Heart; and an Act paſſed, That any Perſon who ſhould attempt the perſonal Hurt of the Queen, or to deprive her of any Part of her Sovereignty, or uſurp her Right or Title, during her

1571. her Life, ſhould be deemed guilty of High Treaſon.

The Queen's Party, in *Scotland*, became Maſter of *Edinburgh*, by the Aſſiſtance of the Laird of *Grainge*; tho' he pretended to keep the Caſtle for the King. This done, the Heads of the Queen's Party conveened the States belonging to their Faction; and at the ſame Time the Earl of *Lenox* aſſembled thoſe of the King's Party, in the Subburbs of the ſame City.

Theſe two Aſſemblies did nothing but mutually condemn each other. They reſolved, apart, to meet again in *Auguſt*; the King's Party at *Stirling*, and the Queen's at *Edinburgh*.

At this ſecond Meeting the Queen's Party, by the Advice of *Grainge*, formed a Project of going and carrying away by Force the Lords of the contrary Party, who were holding their Aſſembly at *Stirling*, without any Precaution. This Project was executed with ſo much Conduct, that the Regent and the Earl of *Morton* were made Priſoners: In all Appearance, few of the King's Lords would have eſcaped, had not the victorious Soldiers fallen to plundering; but whilſt they were diſperſed about the Town, the Earl of *Mar* ſallied out of the Caſtle, with the Garriſon, and compelled them to retire. In the Diſorder, the Earl of *Morton* eſcaped; but the Regent was carried away, and murdered in cold Blood, by one hired to do it.

A

A few Days after, the Earl of *Mar* was choſen Regent, to the great Mortification of the Earl of *Morton*, who aſpired to that Dignity. 1572.

There were properly five Parties now in *Scotland*: the Queen's, and for the Catholick Religion; the King's, and for the Proteſtant Religion; and the Earl of *Morton*, who was a Penſioner to the Court of *England*, was at the Head of the Fifth: who, tho' outwardly for the King, ſought only to croſs thoſe that endeavoured to unite the two Factions. This was properly *Elizabeth*'s Party, tho' ſhe affected to ſtand Neuter.

The Duke of *Norfolk* appeared upon his Trial, before the Peers of the Realm. He was accuſed of attempting to deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life; that, unknown to the Queen, he had attempted to marry *Mary*, tho' he knew ſhe had uſurped the Title of Queen of *England*, with the Arms thereof, and had lent her great Sums of Money; that he had ſupplied the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* with Money, who were declared Enemies; that he had writ to the Pope, King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Alva*, deſiring Aid to free the Queen of *Scots*, and reſtore the Popiſh Religion in *England*.

The Duke made very poor Anſwers, to moſt of the Articles, and was condemned as guilty of High Treaſon; and a Warrant was ſigned for his Execution. He confeſſed part

1572. Part of his Faults, excuſed himſelf as to the reſt; and, in general, owned he was juſtly condemned. He died, as he declared, a Proteſtant.

Two Days after the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Death, *Elizabeth* ſent two Privy Counſellors to *Mary*, not to accuſe her criminally, but, to inform her of what was laid to her Charge in the Duke's Trial; which were much the ſame as the Articles againſt *Norfolk*. She did not deny the Matter; but inſiſted ſhe had no Intention but to procure her own Liberty. However, the Affair, as to her, was dropt.

The Court of *France*, under colour of the Nuptials of the King of *Navarre* with the Princeſs *Margaret*, King *Charles*'s Siſter, drew Numbers of *Hugonots* to *Paris*; where they were maſſacred in a moſt barbarous Manner: which made the Court of *France* the moſt perfidious that had ever been in the World.

This Maſſacre threw all the Proteſtants in *Europe* into the greateſt Conſternation; eſpecially when they knew it was openly approved of at *Rome*: And the Court of *England* minded it particularly, and did not queſtion but it was intended the Storm ſhould reach *England*, as ſoon as there ſhould be a favourable Wind.

Elizabeth, after this Maſſacre, could not conſider *Charles* but as a Prince without Honour or Honeſty, and a ſworn Enemy to the Religion ſhe profeſſed. However, they

they continued to diſſemble with each other; and promiſed to ſtand to the defenſive Alliance they had entered into: and *Elizabeth* ſtood God-mother to a Princeſs the Queen of *France* was brought to Bed of. It was their mutual Intereſt to keep fair, for fear *Elizabeth* ſhould aſiſt the *Hugonots*, or *Charles* the Catholicks in *England*. 1572.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been taken in *Scotland*, was delivered up to *Elizabeth*, and beheaded.

The Diſcovery of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Plot had much weakened *Mary*'s Party in *Scotland*: If they adhered to it, it was only to obtain advantageous Terms for quitting it. The Earl of *Mar* dying this Year, the Earl of *Morton* was choſen Regent, by the Help of *Elizabeth*'s Friends in *Scotland*. He had a Dependance from *Elizabeth*, and ſhe could almoſt manage him as ſhe pleaſed.

But on the contrary, the Court of *France* finding that, by the Earl of *Morton*'s Promotion, they were going utterly to loſe *Scotland*, reſolved to leave no Stone unturned, to ruin the new Regent, and ſupport the Queen's Party; who ſtill held the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: For which Purpoſe *Charles* ſent Money to the Queen's Party, under colour of labouring to appeaſe the Troubles. The Queen's Party had, likewiſe, a Promiſe of Aids being ſhortly ſent from the Pope, *Spain*, and *France*.

Elizabeth, being informed of all this, found it was no longer her Intereſt to keep

1572. up Diſcord among the *Scots*; on the contrary, it was neceſſary the Queen's Party ſhould be deſtroyed, before the Arrival of theſe Aids.

Tho' *Charles* and *Elizabeth* were jealous of each other, they kept up, however, a ſtrict Correſpondence, capable of deceiving thoſe who knew not the Intereſts of the two Courts. Nothing paſſed, on both Sides, but Proteſtations of keeping inviolably the defenſive Alliance.

We are going, at length, to ſee an End put to the Troubles of *Scotland*. The Regent having good Intelligence of what paſſed at the Court of *France*, and knowing it was reſolved to aſſiſt powerfully the Queen's Party, thought it proper to prevent their Deſigns: Therefore, a Treaty was concluded to the Effect following:

That they ſhould ſubmit to the King, and conform to the eſtabliſhed Religion; that if any Perſon ſhould violate this Article, he ſhould be declared a Traitor.

That the Sentences pronounced againſt the *Hamiltons* and *Gordons* ſhould be repealed; excepting ſuch, however, as concerned the Murders of the Earls of *Murray* and *Lenox*, which ſhould be left to the Queen of *England*'s Deciſion.

That the Queen of *England* ſhould bind herſelf by ſome publick Inſtrument, to order it ſo, that the *Hamiltons* and *Gordons* ſhould not be proſecuted for the Murders of the Earls of *Murray* and *Lenox*, without her ex-

expreſs Conſent. The States of the King- 1573.
dom, meeting ſhortly after, confirmed this Agreement by their Authority.

Grainge and ſome Lords, who had the Poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, ſtrove to hinder the Concluſion of this Treaty. It was demanded that he ſhould deliver up the Caſtle: but thinking to gain Time, he offered to deliver up the Caſtle in Six Months, expecting in that Time Succours from *France*; and ſo keep up the Queen's Party. But the Regent was better informed than *Grainge* imagined, ſo reſolved to lay Siege to the Caſtle. *Grainge*, upon this, offered to put it into the Hands of the Earl of *Rothes* immediately; but the Regent did not care to truſt it in the Hands of a Perſon of *Grainge*'s chuſing.

However, the Earl of *Morton* having but few Troops, and wanting Artillery and Ammunition, applied to *Elizabeth*; who wanted to have an End put to the Troubles, by reaſon of the expected Aid; therefore, a Treaty was made with the Regent to the Effect following:

Elizabeth ſhall ſend to the Regent Ordnance and Ammunition, for the beſieging the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* jointly with the *Scots*.

No Capitulation ſhall be granted to the Beſieged, without the mutual Conſent of the Regent and the *Engliſh* General.

If the Caſtle be taken by the *Engliſh*, it ſhall be delivered to the King of *Scotland*.

The

1573. The Priſoners, after taking the Caſtle, ſhall be kept, to be proceeded againſt according to Law; the Queen of *England* being firſt acquainted therewith.

Purſuant to this Treaty, *Elizabeth* ordered Sir *William Drury*, Marſhal of *Berwick*, to march into *Scotland* with 1500 Men, and a Train of Artillery.

This was a manifeſt Breach of the defenſive Alliance *Elizabeth* had entered into with *France*; wherein there was an Article, that run, that neither of them ſhould ſend Troops into *Scotland*. However, *Elizabeth* being well informed that *France* intended to violate the ſame Article, thought ſhe would be before-hand, and thereby hinder the *French* from coming.

However, the Caſtle was inveſted, and at laſt the Beſieged was forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion. The Laird of *Grainge*, *James Kircald*, his Brother, and ſome others, were executed. *Melvil* gives *Grainge* an extraordinary Character. He adds, that he was gentle and meek like a Lamb, in the Houſe, but like a Lion in the Field. One Hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offered to be Vaſſals to the Regent for ever, to pay a yearly Penſion of 3000 Merks and 2000*l.* *Scots* in Hand, if he would ſpare his Life; but it was refuſed.

The Earl of *Lidington* died in Priſon. And thus ended the Civil Wars in *Scotland*, where *Elizabeth* managed her Intereſt with a

a very refined Policy, which was crowned with Succeſs. 1574.

During the Siege of the Caſtle, the King of *France* was ſending one *Verax* to *Scotland*, to encourage the Party to ſtand their Ground; but by a Storm he was put into *Scarbrough*. The Preſident of the Northern Marches having Notice of it, ordered him to be conveyed to *London*; but upon his being arreſted he burnt all his Papers. The *French* Ambaſſador demanded Leave for *Verax* to purſue his Journey; but *Elizabeth* threw Obſtacles in his Way, and detained him till ſhe heard the Caſtle had ſurrendered.

Scotland being at Peace, under the Authority of the young King, and of a Regent devoted to *Elizabeth*, ſhe was under no Fear from that Quarter: and being ſafe from all Attacks, but by Sea, ſhe lived ſome Years in great Tranquility.

Elizabeth commanded the Biſhop of *Roſs*, Author and Promoter of all the Plots againſt her, to depart *England*. He thought himſelf happy to come off ſo cheap, and withdrew into *France*.

The Siege of *Rochelle*, belonging to the *Hugonots*, which had laſted a long Time, was at length raiſed, after the City had withſtood 30,000 Cannon Balls, nine great Aſſaults, beſides twenty leſſer ones, and the Effects of ſixty Mines. The Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, loſt there above 12,000 of his Men.

He

1574. He was choſen King of *Poland*; upon which News he raiſed the Seige, which brought with it Peace to the *Hugonots*.

The Queen Mother of *France*, and the King, preſſed *Elizabeth* very much to marry the Duke of *Alenſon*, *Charles*'s Brother. *Elizabeth*, being much ſolicited on this Subject, and for Leave to come to *England* to ſee her, ſent him, at laſt, a Safe-conduct; but his Journey was ſtopt by the Death of the King his Brother, who was only Twenty-five Years of Age. The Manner of his Death was ſo uncommon, that it gave Occaſion, not only to the Proteſtants, but to the Catholicks themſelves, to look upon it as an Effect of the divine Vengeance, for the horrible Maſſacre committed by his Order; the Blood guſhed out of all the Paſſages of his Body, and even ſpouted through his Pores.

The Queen Mother took her Meaſures ſo well; that ſhe got the Regency conferred on her by the dying King, till the Return of the King of *Poland*, his Brother, who ſucceeded by the Name of *Henry* III. But the Queen Mother was afraid, that the Duke of *Alenſon* ſhould ſeize the Crown, in his Brother's Abſence; which made her uſe ſuch Precaution.

Charles Earl of *Lenox*, Uncle to the King of *Scotland*, was married this Year with *Elizabeth Cavendiſh*, the Counteſs of *Shrewſbury*'s Daughter.

As ſoon as *Henry* III. arrived in *France*, it

it was reſolved, in his Council, to wage War with the *Hugonots*; tho' they had given no Occaſion. He renewed the defenſive Alliance with *Elizabeth*, who underhand ſupplied the *Hugonots* with Money to pay their Army. 1575.

Sir *John Forſter*, Governor of *Berwick*, and *Carmichael*, Warden of *Liddeſdale*, in *Scotland*, having a Conference, each at the Head of a Troop of his own Nation, fell out and came to Blows. The *Engliſh* were worſted, and *Forſter* was made Priſoner, and carried to the Earl of *Morton*; who treated him civilly, but detained him ſometime. *Elizabeth* took it ill at firſt; but the Regent found Means to appeaſe her, by all the Submiſſion ſhe required. This Year died the Earl of *Chatelherault*.

The Earl of *Eſſex* died in *Ireland* this Year; and the Earl of *Leiceſter* privately married his Widow, who was Daughter of Sir *Francis Knolles*.

The Duke of *Alenſon* drew together an Army againſt *Henry* his Brother, in favour of the *Hugonots*. On the other hand, the Prince of *Conde*, with the Forces Prince *Caſimire* had levied in *Germany*, enter'd *France*, and joined the Duke of *Alenſon*. Thus the *Hugonots*, whom the Court of *France* had determined to extirpate, were in a Condition to ſell their Lives at a dear Rate; having at their Head the King's Brother, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, with an Army 30,000 ſtrong.

But

1576. But the Queen Mother had the Addreſs to break all their Meaſures; ſhe ſent them Offers of Peace, which were accepted. They had never obtained ſo advantageous a Peace, ſince the Beginning of their Troubles: but ſhe found Means to ſow Jealouſies among them; and to win from them the Duke of *Alenſon* (who, ſince his Brother's Acceſſion to the Throne, aſſumed the Title of Duke of *Anjou*) and alſo Prince *Caſimire*.

The Peace was no ſooner ſigned, but, according to the Sincerity ſome Time ſince profeſſed by the Court of *France*, they took new Meaſures to root out the *Hugonots*. Treaties and Oaths went then for nothing; and were conſidered only as lawful Snares to catch Hereticks.

Shortly after, the States having ſent to pray the King that he would not allow any Religion in the Kingdom but the Catholick, he made Anſwer, that it was his Intention; and if ever he was under a Neceſſity of promiſing the contrary, even with an Oath, he would keep it no longer, than till he ſhould have Forces ſufficient to enable him to break it. Thus the *Hugonots* ſaw themſelves obliged to defend themſelves, without having the leaſt Hopes of ſeeing an End of their Calamities by a Treaty; ſince the King declared he would never keep his Word with them.

Don *John* of *Auſtria* came into the Low Countries; he was an aſpiring Man, and had two Projects in his Head: The firſt was,

to

to ſubdue the *Netherlands* entirely; the ſecond was, to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and become Maſter of *England* and *Scotland*. *Elizabeth* was not ignorant of the firſt; but the ſecond was ſtill a Secret to her. 1577.

The Prince of *Orange* having informed *Elizabeth* of Don *John*'s Deſign to marry *Mary*, the States ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire *Elizabeth*'s Aſſiſtance. She finding Don *John*'s Deſigns, who was Governor of the Low Countries, reached further than ſhe at firſt imagined, forthwith ſent the States 100,000 *l. Sterling*, which they deſired of her.

At this Time the Affairs of *France* was in a ſad Condition. The *Hugonots*, finding a Reſolution was taken to root them out, entered into a Counter League; whereof the King of *Navarre* was declared General, and the Prince of *Conde* appointed for his Lieutenant. Hoſtilities were renewed on both Sides; but with great Diſadvantage to the *Hugonots*, who were but weak.

However, as the War gave the Duke of *Guiſe* too much Reputation, of whoſe Power the King was exceeding jealous, *Henry* thought it beſt for him to grant a Peace to the *Hugonots*. From thence forwards he plunged himſelf into Pleaſures, and lived at ſo expenſive a Rate, that he forfeited the Love and Eſteem of his Subjects.

Whilſt *Elizabeth* aſſiſted the Confederates of the Low Countries, under colour of hindering them from ſubmitting to *France*,

1578. *Philip* returned the Favour by endeavouring to raiſe a Rebellion in *Ireland*. This Project was formed ſome Time before, on account of Pope *Gregory* XIII. who wanted to help his Baſtard Son, *Jacomo Boncompagno*, to the Crown of that Kingdom.

Thomas Stukely, an *Engliſh* Fugitive, was the firſt Author of it; and *Philip* II. had taken upon him to ſupply whatever was neceſſary to bring it to a good Iſſue. The Pope, after having beſtowed on *Stukely* ſeveral honourable Titles, taken from the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as if he had been already in Poſſeſſion, gave him ſome Ships, and 800 *Italian* Soldiers, to be paid by the King of *Spain*. *Stukely* ſailed from *Civita Vecchia*, and ſafely arrived at *Liſbon*, in order to purſue his Voyage and Undertaking: But Don *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, being then going into *Africa*, to make War upon the Moors, perſuaded him firſt to accompany him in his Expedition; and obtained *Philip*'s Leave. Shortly after they both periſhed in the Battle of *Alcazar*; and *Philip*, giving over his Project of conquering *Ireland*, turned his Thoughts to ſecure the Crown of *Portugal*, after the Death of the old Cardinal *Henry*, who ſucceeded Don *Sebaſtian*.

The War breaking out in the Netherlands, ſeveral Companies of Volunteers were formed in *England*, who went to ſerve the States. *Norris*, General of the *Engliſh* in the firſt Battle, fought ſtoutly, having three Horſes

Horſes killed under him. Don *John* won, 1578.
at *Gemblours*, a compleat Victory over the
Army of the States; which was followed
with the taking of ſeveral Places.

The Duke of *Anjou* and Prince *Caſimire* equally tendered their Aſſiſtance to the States; who knew not which Way to turn. But at this Time a lucky Accident happened to them, which they little expected. The City of *Amſterdam*, which hitherto had taken the King's Part, reſolved to join the Confederates, and by that Means they were conſiderably ſtrengthened: On the other hand, what paſſed ſoon after, in the ſame City, very much increaſed the Suſpicion of the Catholicks. They who had been baniſhed on account of Religion, being recalled, found Means to expell the Magiſtrates, and put the Government of the City into the Hands of the Reformed.

Mean while the Reformed, fearing the Duke of *Anjou*'s Arrival (whom the States had declared Protector of the *Belgick* Liberties) would beget ſome Alterations prejudicial to their Religion, preſented a Petition to the States, deſiring to be admitted to the Exerciſe of the Publick Offices, as well as the Catholicks. Their Requeſt was granted, on Condition the Catholicks ſhould enjoy the ſame Privilege in *Holland* and *Zealand*: But theſe two Provinces, without oppoſing directly this Reſolution, found Means, however, to evade the Condition annexed.

Thence

1578. Thence aroſe great Diviſions among the Confederates.

Don *John* had not Time to take Advantage of theſe Diſſenſions in the Netherlands, being prevented by Death: It is ſaid he was poiſoned. After his Death, the Prince of *Parma* took upon him the Command of the Army till further Orders from the Court of *Spain*.

The Duke of *Anjou* ſent again to renew the Treaty of Marriage with *Elizabeth*; ſhe received the Envoys in ſo kind and civil a Manner, that all the World imagined ſhe really intended to marry. But I take it to be the pure Effect of her Policy; to the End her Enemies, upon the Rumour of her being about to marry the Duke of *Anjou*, might be leſs forward to purſue the Deſigns they had formed againſt her.

The Earl of *Morton* ſtill governed *Scotland*, as Regent; but in ſuch a Manner that he daily created to himſelf freſh Enemies. *Elizabeth*, whoſe Intereſt it was to preſerve Peace under the Government of a Man on whom ſhe could depend, was afraid at length the Regent's ill Conduct would deprive her of that Advantage: Therefore, *Elizabeth* ſent to adviſe him to uſe more Moderation. The Regent took this Advice in good Part; but not knowing how to make good Uſe of it, he was himſelf the whole Cauſe of his own Ruin.

The King had for Governor *Erskine*, Son or Brother of the Earl of *Mar*; and four Pre-

Preceptors, of whom *George Buchanan* was one. The Earl of *Morton* having imprudently diſobliged theſe Men, they found Means to ſet the young King againſt him, who was now about Twelve Years of Age. When they had prepared the King, almoſt as they deſired, they ſent for the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol*, who had privately taken Meaſures to execute their Purpoſe. Theſe two Lords very eaſily perſuaded the King to lay aſide this troubleſome Regent, and take upon himſelf the Reins of Government, promiſing to aſſiſt him in it. The States of the Kingdom, meeting at the ſame Time, confirmed, by their Authority, what the King had done; and appointed a Council of Twelve Lords, among whom was the Earl of *Morton*: But, inſtead of taking his Place in the Council, he feigned to be quite weary of the Court, and retired to his own Houſe, where he ſeemed wholly employed in cultivating his Gardens. 1578.

The young King having taken the Government, ſent immediately Notice of it to *Elizabeth*; demanding withall the Eſtate of the late Earl of *Lenox*, his Grandfather, and that the Alliance between *England* and *Scotland* ſhould be renewed.

Elizabeth appointed Commiſſioners to treat about the renewing the Alliance; but ſhe ordered the Rents of the late Earl of *Lenox* to be ſequeſtered by the Lord *Burleigh*.

Mean while the Earl of *Morton*, who had

1579. had Friends in *Stirling*, where the King reſided, appearing one Night at the Gate of the Town, with a Company of armed Men, it was opened to him, and he entered without any Oppoſition: Then he went directly to the King's Palace, of whoſe Perſon he became Maſter; and having outed his Enemies, he reſumed the Poſt he had been forced to quit againſt his Will. The Earl of *Athol*, who had been made High Chancellor, died ſhortly after; not without Suſpicion of being poiſoned.

Prince *Caſimire*, who was come to the Court of *England*, was received very civilly by *Elizabeth*; who conferred on him the Order of *St George*, and put on the Garter herſelf about his Leg. Nothing deſerved *Elizabeth*'s Care more than to hinder the Ruin of the Proteſtants in *France* and the Netherlands; ſince, on their Preſervation depended her Safety. *Caſimire* was her Inſtrument, to keep up in the Low Countries Troubles, which made her ſleep in Peace; for which Purpoſe ſhe frequently ſupplied him with Money.

Several Applications had been made by the Court of *France*, in order to bring about the Marriage between *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*; and the King of *France* ſent one *Simier*, a Man of Parts, and very fit for the Purpoſe. He underſtood ſo well the moſt proper Way to win her Heart, that he gained her Ear more than the Duke would have done himſelf. All the World were

were ſurprized at the great Change they ſaw in her. 1579.

Above all Things, he took great Care to ruin the Earl of *Leiceſter*; not having the ſame Reaſons as the *Engliſh* Courtiers to keep fair with that Favourite. It was he that revealed to the Queen *Leiceſter*'s clandeſtine Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Widow; and this Diſcovery put her into ſuch a Paſſion, that ſhe was juſt going to ſend him to the Tower.

Leiceſter was vexed to the Heart to ſee himſelf thus braved by a Foreigner; 'tis even ſaid, he bribed one of the Guards to aſſaſſinate him. The Queen, fearing the *French* Envoy might receive ſome Affront, took him under her ſpecial Protection; and commanded by Proclamation that no Man ſhould offer him any Injury.

Shortly after, as the Queen was in her Barge, on the *Thames*, with the three *French* Envoys, a Piſtol was diſcharged out of a Boat, and wounded one of her Bargemen. The Man who fired the Piſtol was taken immediately, and threatened to be put to the Rack; but he cleared himſelf ſo ingeniouſly, that the Queen was perſuaded of his Innocence. She took Occaſion from her pardoning this Man, to diſplay the Affection ſhe had for her Subjects; ſaying, ſhe could believe nothing of her People, which a Parent would not believe of his own Children.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Anjou* came

in-

1579. *incognito* into *England*, with only two Servants: he went to Court, without being known by any Body; and after ſome private Diſcouſe with the Queen, he returned into *France*.

Two Months after, the Queen ordered ſome of her moſt truſty Privy Counſellors to examine together the Advantages and Dangers which might ariſe from her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; and to make their Report to her.

Whilſt *Elizabeth* was intent upon gaining the King of *France*'s Friendſhip, the Duke of *Guiſe* was framing a Plot to invade *England* by way of *Scotland*, as had formerly been projected by his Father and the Cardinal his Uncle. He made uſe, for this Purpoſe, of *Eſme Stuart*, Baron *d'Aubigny*, who came to *Scotland* under colour of paying his Reſpects to the King, as his near Relation. There was alſo about the ſame Time another young Man, ſprung from a Branch of the *Stuart* Family, diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Ochiltre*. Theſe two inſinuated themſelves into the King's good Graces; and inſtilled into the King an utter Averſion to the Regent. Theſe two Favourites joined together to ruin the Earl of *Morton*; as well for the Sake of their own Intereſt, as becauſe it was neceſſary, in order to execute the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Deſigns, to get rid of a Lord who was too much attached to the Intereſt of *England*.

The City of *London* growing exceſſive large,

large, to the Detriment of the reſt of the Towns of *England*, the Queen thought it neceſſary to remedy this Inconveniency; ſhe iſſued a Proclamation, prohibiting any new Houſes to be built within three Miles of the Gates of the City, upon Pain of Impriſonment, and Forfeiture of the Materials. 1579.

But there was ſtill a more preſſing Evil, which it was no leſs neceſſary to remedy, I mean the hindering of the *Engliſh* Seminaries, in foreign Countries, from ſending Prieſts into *England*, to preach Sedition and Rebellion, under colour of adminiſtring the Sacraments to the Catholicks. The Prieſts who had been driven out of *England*, in the Beginning of this Reign, had ſet up a College at *Doway* by the Means of *William Allan*, an *Oxford* Man, who was afterwards Cardinal. The Prieſts, that came over, maintained that the Pope had, by divine Right, full Power to dethrone Kings; and that *Elizabeth* being excommunicated, and depoſed by Pope *Pius*'s Bull, her Subjects were freed from their Allegiance. Four of theſe dangerous Emiſſaries were condemn'd and executed, for daring to maintain publickly that the Queen was lawfully depoſed.

This did not hinder the Seminaries abroad from continually ſending into *England* incendiaries; with whom were joined *Robert Parſons* and *Edmund Campian*, Jeſuits, who were the firſt of that Order employed to preach the above mentioned dangerous Tenets in *England*. The Queen, upon this,

1580. iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding all Perſons to entertain or harbour any Jeſuits or Prieſts, ſent forth from the Seminaries abroad, upon Pain of being puniſhed as Rebels.

The Pope and King of *Spain* had juſt now formed a Plot againſt *Ireland*, and ſent thither 700 *Spaniards* and *Italians*; who landed without Oppoſition, under the Command of *San-Joſepho* an *Italian*, and had preſently run up a Fortification, which they called *Fort del Oro*. The Earl of *Ormond*, who was not far from thoſe Quarters, haſtening thither with ſome Troops, took a few Priſoners; who declared they had brought Arms for 5 or 6000 Men, who were to join with them in order to drive the *Engliſh* out of the Iſland: The Earl not having Troops enough to beſiege the Fort, contented himſelf with inveſting it, till the Lord Deputy, who was begun to march, ſhould join him. A little after, the Fort was beſieged in Form, and compelled to ſurrender. The *Engliſh*, under Pretence of the Difficulty of guarding ſo many Priſoners, put the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and hanged up the *Iriſh*.

This Year was memorable for the Return of *Francis Drake* from his Voyage round the World. He had navigated in *America*, upon the North and South Seas; and amaſſed a prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver taken from the *Spaniards*. He failed from *Plymouth* the 13th of *December*, 1577, and re-

returned to the ſame Port the 3d of *November* 1580, when the Queen knighted him. 1580.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador complained to the Queen, to have the Money reſtored that *Drake* had taken from the *Spaniards*. The Queen anſwered, that *Drake* ſhould be always ready to anſwer in Law, whenever he ſhould be ſued; and, to hinder him to convert the Gold and Silver to his own Uſe, ſhe had ordered all the Goods he had brought Home to be ſequeſtered, with Deſign to ſatisfy the King of *Spain*, if he could prove they belonged to him; tho' the Charges ſhe had been at in defending *Ireland* amounted to much more. The Queen, however, afterwards re-paid Part of the Treaſure.

Henry Fitz-Allen, Earl of *Arundel*, died this Year. He was the laſt of that illuſtrious Family, which had flouriſhed in *England* 300 Years. One of his Daughters had married *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*; and thence it was that the Title of Earl of *Arundel* came to the *Howard* Family.

The religious War was renewed in *France* in the Month of *January*, and ended in *November*, by a ſixth Treaty of Peace.

This Year *Philip* II. got Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Portugal*, vacant by the Death of King *Henry*.

The Affairs of *Scotland* began to give *Elizabeth* ſome Uneaſineſs, becauſe ſhe knew King *James*'s two Favourites did all they could to take him off from the Intereſt of *England*. The King took Delight in heaping

1581. ing Favours upon them. *Aubigny* was made Earl, and then Duke of *Lenox*; and *James Stuart*, the other Favourite, was made Earl of *Arran*.

Elizabeth being let into the Secret, ſent Sir *Robert Bowes* into *Scotland*, to accuſe the Duke of *Lenox*, before the King and Council, of holding with the Court of *France*, and particularly with the Duke of *Guiſe*, Intelligence deſtructive of *Scotland* and *England*. The Council of *Scotland*, govern'd by the Duke of *Lenox*, thought not proper to admit the Accuſation: But the King ſent into *England* the Lord *Home*, to clear his Favourite to the Queen, who refuſed him Audience.

This Miſunderſtanding was fomented by the Favourites. The Earl of *Arran*, one Day in Council, accuſed the Earl of *Morton* of being concerned in the Murder of the late King; upon which he was ſent to Priſon.

Elizabeth hearing of the Earl of *Morton*'s Diſgrace, and finding his Attachment to *England* was the ſole Occaſion of it, diſpatched *Randolph* to go and ſolicit in his Behalf: But it was to no Purpoſe; for he was preſently after condemned and beheaded. He confeſſed the Earl of *Bothwell* had imparted to him his Deſign to take away the King's Life; but he denied he had any Hand in the Murder.

The two Favourites became more and more Maſters of the Government of the King and Kingdom, without regarding the Peo-

Peoples Murmurings. The Duke of *Lenox* had ſome good Qualities; but he had little Knowledge of the Affairs of *Scotland*; beſides, he was a Catholick, and looked upon as the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Creature. The Earl of *Arran* was an Athieſt, and one of the moſt wicked Men alive. He pretended to be *Lenox*'s Friend, but laboured underneath to ruin him. 1581.

Whilſt theſe Things paſſed, the Court of *France* earneſtly preſſed the Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth*. In ſhort, the Queen agreed with *Simie* upon the Marriage Articles, which were to be digeſted in form of a Treaty.

The Duke of *Anjou*, as ſoon as the Articles were concluded, came to *England*, where he was received with great Honour and Civility. One Day the Queen being in Converſation with him, pulled off a Ring from her Finger, and put it upon the Duke's. This made all the Standers-by imagine ſhe had juſt then given him a Promiſe.

Mean while this Marriage was exclaimed againſt publickly in the Court and City; tho' ſome ſuſpect this to be a mere Farce, acted by the Queen's private Orders, that ſhe might have a Pretence to go from her Word. Miniſters, Courtiers, and Favourites, are ſeldom ſeen to oppoſe ſo openly the Will of their Sovereign, if they are not certain of being applauded for it. Let this be as it will, the Queen having ſpent a whole

Night

1581. Night without any Reſt, amidſt the Sighs and Tears of her Ladies, went to the Duke of *Anjou*'s Room, and talked with him in private. When ſhe withdrew, the Duke was ſeen to throw the Ring from him, and preſently to take it up again, complaining bitterly of the Levity of Women, and the Inconſtancy of the *Engliſh*.

During the Duke's Stay at Court, the Queen cauſed a Man's Hand to be cut off, for writing a Satyr upon their Marriage; his Name was *John Stubs*; and after his Right-hand was cut off, he pulled off his Hat with his Left, and ſaid with a loud Voice, *God ſave the Queen*: But the Multitude ſtood ſilent, either out of Horror to the Puniſhment, or Pity to the Man, or Hatred of the Match.

Whatever the Queen's Intention might be in this Negotiation about the Marriage, 'tis certain it was extreamly prejudicial to the Catholicks in *England*, who, entertaining vaſt Hopes from this Marriage, were too forward to diſcover themſelves. As ſoon as it was diſcovered to the World, that the Articles were ſigned, *England* was all of a ſudden over-run with *Romiſh* Prieſts, Jeſuits, and other Catholicks, who hoped to be ſcreened there by the Duke of *Anjou*, and ſpoke openly in favour of the Pope's Supremacy.

This furious Zeal and Imprudence of ſome of the Catholicks, drew Severities upon the whole Body, which the Queen would not

not have been eaſily brought to. What did them ſtill a further Injury was, that ſome of them owned they were come into *England*, with Power to abſolve every one in particular from his Oath of Allegiance. 1582.

This Year Don *Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, who had laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and had been crowned at *Liſbon*, being expelled thence by the Arms of the King of *Spain*, came to *Elizabeth*, who took Care of him, and put him in Hopes of a greater Relief.

The Parliament being met this Year, whilſt the Duke of *Anjou* was ſtill in *England*, paſſed very ſevere Laws againſt the Catholicks; wherein all thoſe are declared guilty of High Treaſon, who ſhall endeavour to diſſuade the Subjects from their Allegiance to the Queen, and from the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, or ſhall reconcile them to the Church of *Rome*; as alſo thoſe who ſhall be thus reconciled. Thoſe alſo are fined in 200 Merks, and Impriſonment for a Year, who ſhall ſay Maſs; and they who ſhall be knowingly preſent at Maſs, are fined in 100 Merks, and a Year's Impriſonment: Moreover, they who abſented themſelves from their Pariſh Churches on the Days appointed for divine Service, are fined in 20 *l.* a Month.

The Duke of *Anjou*, and thoſe who had attended him in *England*, could plainly enough perceive under what Conſtraints they ſhould live, in caſe the Marriage was conſummated.

1582. ſummated. In all Appearance the Proceedings of the Queen and Parliament againſt the Catholicks did not a little help to comfort him, and perhaps put him out of Conceit with a Country ſo oppoſite to *France*; nay, 'tis very likely all was done before his Eyes with that View.

He went away, having received from the Queen many Tokens of Eſteem and Affection; the moſt ſubſtantial whereof was a good Sum of Money ſhe ſupplied him with, to aſſiſt him in carrying on the War in the *Netherlands*.

Tho' *Henry* III. had no Reaſon to be pleaſed with *Elizabeth*, he gave her Notice, however, that the Duke of *Guiſe* was plotting ſomething in favour of the Queen of *Scots*, and was to embark in *Normandy* ſome Troops, which were deſigned either for *England* or *Scotland*.

As *Elizabeth* did not fear an Invaſion upon *England*, ſhe turned her Thoughts on the Affairs of *Scotland*. Some Perſons of Diſtinction there, among whom were the Earls of *Mar*, *Lindſay*, and *Gowry*, full of Indignation to ſee the Realm govern'd by a young Prince of 15, and two raſh unexperienced Miniſters, conſpired together to ſeize the King's Perſon, and remove his two Favourites. To that End they took the Opportunity when they were both abſent from Court, and the King was intent upon hunting near *Athol*. They ſent to invite him by the Earl of *Gowry*, to paſs a few Days at his Houſe

Houſe at *Huntington*; and when he came there, they ſecured his Perſon. This was called *The Ruthven Conſpiracy*, becauſe *Ruthven* was the Name of the Earl of *Gowry*'s Family. 1582.

The Earl of *Arran*, one of the King's Favourites, drew together ſome People, and would have attempted to free his Maſter; but he was repulſed, and forced to fly for Shelter to *Ruthven* Caſtle, where the Earl of *Gowry* received him, and ſaved his Life, but kept him Priſoner. The Duke of *Lenox* being informed of what was done, ſpeedily retired to *Dumbarton*, whereof he was Governor; and the King was carried to *Stirling*, free, in Appearance, but Priſoner, in reality.

This Year Pope *Gregory* XIII. publiſhed his Bull for reforming the Calendar, and ordered ten Days of that very Year to be cut off at once. As *England* and the reſt of the Proteſtant States refuſed to comply with this Order, becauſe it flowed from the Papal Authority, there began, from that Time, to be a Difference of ten Days in the Dates; the one reckoning it the firſt Day of the Month, when it was the tenth with the others: and hence comes what we call the Old and New Stiles.

The Duke of *Lenox* ſeeing the King in the Hands of the Lords of *Ruthven*, (for ſo the Conſpirators were called) withdrew into *France*, where he died ſoon after.

After this the Lords of *Ruthven* convened the States, where the King was preſent.

1583. He declared whatever they had done was with his Conſent. He writ the ſame thing to the General Aſſembly of the Kirk; whereupon the States and the Kirk approved, by authentick Acts, all that had paſſed. This done, the King was no longer watched, but left entirely at Liberty.

All being thus quiet, the King appointed twelve Counſellors to aſſiſt him to govern the State; but, ſhortly after, his Affection for the Earl of *Arran* being revived, he deſired to ſee him. All the Counſellors were againſt him; but, upon Promiſe that he was to ſend him away again in 24 Hours, he was ſuffered to come to the King; who was not as good as his Word, for he kept him ſtill by him.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Arran* ſaw himſelf fully reſtored, he ſuggeſted to the King, that he had taken a falſe Step in not puniſhing the Inſolence of the Lords of *Ruthven*; and perſuaded him, at length, to alter his Reſolution: So, inſtead of the general Pardon, which the King had promiſed, he iſſued out a Proclamation, commanding the Accomplices of the *Ruthven* Conſpiracy to come and beg Pardon for their Crime. This induced theſe Lords to retire, ſome to their own Homes, and others to *England*, to wait for another Opportunity to ruin their Enemy.

Elizabeth being informed of the King of *Scotland*'s Proceedings, and the Danger there was that the Earl of *Arran* would entirely ruin

ruin the *Engliſh* Party, writ to the King, 1584.
repreſenting to him the Conſequences of the Courſe he was taking, and mixed in her Letter ſome Reproaches for breaking his Word. He excuſed himſelf, by ſaying the Promiſe was extorted from him when he was a Captive.

However, *James* ſeemed reſolved to give over proſecuting the Lords of *Ruthven*; and, to that Purpoſe, he aſſembled the Nobility at *Edinburgh*, to end this Affair by the Advice of the Great Men, in the Manner he had firſt projected it, by publiſhing a general Pardon: But the Earl of *Arran*, a bold and daring Man, defeated this Project, in ſpite of the King himſelf.

The Lords were firſt to aſk Pardon, and acknowledge that they owed that Favour to the King's Clemency. The Lords who durſt not depend upon the King's Word, were drove, at length, to form a new Conſpiracy; and had ſo well laid their Meaſures, that they immediately took *Stirling*: But the Earl of *Gowry* being arreſted before he had got to join the Conſpirators, much diſheartened them. They feared, as he was a nigh Relation to the King, he had cauſed it to be done, in order to betray them; ſo they gave over their Enterprize, and fled out of the Kingdom. It coſt, however, the Earl his Life, for he was brought to *Edinburgh* and beheaded. Thus the Earl of *Arran*, who was a very wicked atheiſtical Man, ſtill kept his Poſt.

Eliza-

1584. *Elizabeth* being afraid that *James* would be prevailed upon to take a *French* Wife, and that ſuch a Match would be detrimental to *England*, ſent one *Daviſon* into *Scotland*, to endeavour to win the Earl of *Arran* to her Intereſt. She thought this Method better and ſpeedier than the ſupporting the Malcontents. *Daviſon* ſucceeded entirely in his Negotiation, with reſpect to the Earl of *Arran*, by Means that are not hard to gueſs at; and a private Agreement was enter'd into, whereby the Earl of *Arran* engaged to keep the King unmarried for three Years. *Elizabeth* pretended that ſhe deſigned to give the King in Marriage a Princeſs of the Royal Blood of *England*, who was not yet of a fit Age to marry.

Shortly after, *Elizabeth* diſcovered that her Enemies did not ceaſe their ſecret Practices againſt her. *Crichton*, a *Scots* Jeſuit, going by Sea to *Scotland*, and the Veſſel being attacked by Pyrates, he tore ſome Papers he had about him, and threw them into the Sea; but, by a very extraordinary Accident, it happened, that the Wind blew them back into the Ship, where ſome body took the Pains to gather them all up. Theſe Papers being delivered to one *Wade*, he paſted them together; and, by that Means, a Plot was diſcovered, framed by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, for invading *England*.

The Queen of *Scots* eaſily perceived that the Plots of her Friends were diſcovered; where-

whereupon ſhe ſolicited *Elizabeth* for her Enlargement, upon ſuch Terms as *Elizabeth* at any other Time could not well have refuſed; But, in the preſent Juncture, they only ſerved to increaſe her Suſpicions, at a Time when ſhe ſaw her Enemies in League againſt her, to place *Mary* on the Throne of *England*; therefore, *Elizabeth* thought nothing of ſetting her at Liberty. 1585.

The Duke of *Anjou* dying this Year, the Duke of *Guiſe* had Thoughts of aſpiring to the Crown of *France*, after the Death of the King, (who had no Children, nor was like to have any) tho' *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, was become the firſt Prince of the Blood; but as he was of the Reform'd Religion, this occaſioned great Troubles in *France*.

This Year *Elizabeth* diſcovered a Conſpiracy, of which *William Parry* was the Author. He was a Gentleman of *Wales*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons; and had ſignalized his Zeal for the Catholick Religion, in oppoſing alone a Bill which was preferred in the Lower Houſe againſt the Jeſuits. He was taken into Cuſtody for it; but, upon his Submiſſion, ſet at Liberty.

He was ſoon after accuſed by *Edmund Nevil*, (who laid Claim to the Inheritance of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, lately deceas'd, in the *Low Countries*) with a Deſign to kill the Queen; whereupon he was ſent to the Tower.

He confeſſed, that upon reading Cardinal *Allen*'s

1585. *Allen*'s Book, wherein he maintains it to be not only lawful, but honourable, to kill Princes excommunicated, he had undertaken ſuch a Deſign; and that *Nevil*, his Accuſer, had propoſed to him to attempt the Deliverance of the Queen of *Scots*; to which he anſwered, he had a greater Deſign in his Head: That a few Days after, *Nevil* coming to him, they both reſolved to kill the Queen, as ſhe rode abroad to take the Air, and ſwore upon the Bible to keep the Secret; but that, in the mean time, *Nevil* hearing the News of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*'s Death, accuſed him, in Hopes of procuring thereby the Earl's Inheritance. Upon this Confeſſion he was condemned and executed.

This Conſpiracy occaſioned the Parliament to enact, that 24 Commiſſioners, choſen by the Queen, ſhould make Inquiſition concerning thoſe that ſhould endeavour to raiſe a Rebellion in the Kingdom, or attempt the Queen's Life, or claim any Right to the Crown of *England:* That the Perſon for whom, or by whom any Attempt ſhould be made, ſhould be utterly incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, and proſecuted to Death. It was impoſſible not to ſee the Queen of *Scots* was directly pointed at.

It was further enacted, for the Queen's Preſervation, that all Popiſh Prieſts ſhould depart the Realm within 40 Days: That thoſe who ſhould after return, ſhould be guilty of High Treaſon: That to receive or har-

harbour them, ſhould be Felony: That thoſe who ſhould ſend their Children to Popiſh Colleges, or Seminaries, ſhould be fined in 100 *l. Sterling*: That if thoſe who were ſent thither did not return within a Year, they ſhould be uncapable to ſucceed as Heirs to any Eſtate. 1585.

This was the ſevereſt Act againſt the Catholicks made in this Reign, tho' this Statute was not capable of holding them in; at laſt they carried their Zeal to ſuch a Height, that the Deſtruction of one of the Queens became neceſſary, for the Preſervation of the other.

Philip, Earl of *Arundel*, eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, had, through the Queen's ſpecial Grace and Favour, been reſtored in Blood and to his Father's Eſtate; but afterwards he embraced the Catholick Religion, and withdrew from the Houſe of Lords, in order to depart the Kingdom. He had left a Letter to be delivered to the Queen after his Departure; in which he ſaid, that, in order to avoid the Misfortune which had befallen his Grandfather and Father, and to ſerve God with Freedom, according to his Conſcience, he had reſolved to quit the Kingdom, but not his Allegiance to his Sovereign: but being betray'd by his own Servants, he was apprehended as he was going to embark, and ſent to the Tower.

Henry Piercy, Earl of *Northumberland*, was in the Tower at the ſame Time, and was found dead in his Bed, ſhot with three Bullets

1585. lets under his Left Pap. As he was alone in his Room, and the Door bolted on the Inſide, it was eaſy to ſee he had killed himſelf.

The Calm *Elizabeth* had enjoy'd for ſome Years, began to be turned into Storms, which threatened her from all Quarters. This Change muſt be aſcribed to three principal Cauſes. The firſt was, the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Power, which was almoſt equal to that of the *French* King: *Philip*'s flouriſhing Condition may be reckoned a ſecond; who, after acquiring the Kingdom of *Portugal*, was juſt upon the Point of reducing to his Obedience the revolted Provinces of the *Netherlands*: The third was, the Hopes *Elizabeth*'s Enemies flatter'd themſelves with, of gaining the King of *Scotland* to the Catholick Religion, and making Uſe of him to invade *England*; to which the Court of *Rome* and *Engliſh* Catholicks may be added.

The Scheme that *Elizabeth* took to fruſtrate theſe Deſigns was thus: She reſolved, if poſſible, to make Alliance with the two Northern Crowns and the *German* Proteſtants, and to ſend a ſtrong Aid to the Confederates of the Low Countries, in order to keep the King of *Spain* employ'd there; and alſo to aſſiſt the *French Hugonots* to keep the Duke of *Guiſe* employ'd at Home. Laſtly, ſhe was for endeavouring to have the King of *Scotland* in her Power; or, if that failed, to raiſe Troubles in *Scotland*. It is alſo very likely, that, at the ſame Time, the Death

Death of the Queen of *Scots* was determined, since her Life was the Ground of all the Plots againſt *Elizabeth*, both at Home and Abroad. 1585.

The King of *Scotland* being determined to marry, had caſt his Eyes on the King of *Denmark*'s eldeſt Daughter. *Elizabeth* endeavoured to break off this Match; not that it was an improper one, but that it was againſt her Intereſt he ſhould marry any but an *Engliſh* Lady. She writ to him therefore, that, in order to keep up always a good Underſtanding with him, ſhe intended to ſend an Ambaſſador, who ſhould reſide at his Court; not to trouble his Majeſty with Buſineſs, but to entertain him with merry Diſcourſes, and bear him Company in his Recreations.

Edward Wotton, a Man of Wit, and a great Traveller, ſhe pitched upon for this Purpoſe; and the King made this Ambaſſador Partner of all his Pleaſures, and one of his greateſt Favourites.

The *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors being arrived in *Scotland*, *Wotton*, and ſome of the King's Miniſters, ordered it ſo, that they received ſo many Mortifications, that they were upon the Point of returning; but *Melvil* informing them of the State of Affairs, perſuaded them to have Patience: And indeed the King, being undeceived, as to ſome Notions which had been inſtilled into him againſt the King of *Denmark*, ſent them back better ſatisfied.

1585. Shortly after the King ſent *Peter Young*, his Almoner, into *Denmark*, to ſee the King's two Daughters, and inform the King, his Maſter, of their Qualifications.

In the mean time the Earl of *Arran*'s Credit ſenſibly decreaſed, by Means of the Maſter of *Gray*, who was become in great Credit with the King; beſides, *Wotton* helped with all his Power to ruin the Favourite, *Elizabeth* having no farther Need of him, ſince ſhe had won the Maſter of *Gray*: Moreover, an Accident which happened on the Border, did *Arran* great Injury.

The Lord *Fernihurſt*, who married *Arran*'s Neece, holding a Conference with *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, about Affairs relating to the two Kingdoms, an *Engliſhman* being taken pilfering, raiſed a Quarrel between the two Guards, wherein *Ruſſel* was ſlain. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador made a great Noiſe about this Matter, pretending that the Earl of *Arran* had ſtirred up this Quarrel by his Nephew, on Purpoſe to breed a Rupture between the two Kingdoms. Upon his Complaints, *Arran* was confined to his Houſe, and *Fernihurſt* ſent to Priſon, where he died ſoon after.

Elizabeth having Notice of it, demanded a ſolemn Reparation. *James* did not refuſe it; but pretended he could do nothing in the Matter before he had Proofs.

This was no eaſy Thing, by reaſon of the Cuſtom which allowed not the Evidence of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*, or of the *Scots* a-

againſt the *Engliſh*, concerning what paſſed on the Borders. This Difficulty cauſing the Buſineſs to be prolonged, and *Arran* having his Liberty, *Elizabeth* took occaſion to permit the *Scots* Fugitives, who fled into *England*, to return Home. 1585.

Wotton being informed of *Elizabeth*'s Deſign, corrupted ſeveral *Scots* Courtiers, and won them to her Intereſt, and formed a Project to take the King, and carry him into *England*; but miſſing his Aim, he went away privately, without taking Leave.

The fugitive Lords were now enter'd *Scotland*, and had drawn together 3000 Men; and ſurprizing the King at *Stirling*, he was forced to put himſelf into their Hands; but the Earl of *Arran* eſcaped.

The Malcontents treated the King with ſo much Reſpect and Submiſſion, that they perſuaded him, at length, that they were not his Enemies. By this Revolution, *Elizabeth* had the Satisfaction to ſee *James* guided by Counſellors from whom ſhe had nothing to fear.

In the mean Time, the Affairs of the United Provinces were in ſo dangerous a Situation, that the States could no longer hope to withſtand the King of *Spain*, unleſs ſtrongly aſſiſted.

Elizabeth made then a Treaty with them, whereby ſhe promiſed to find them 5000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, under the Command of an *Engliſh* General. She was to pay theſe Troops during the War; and, for Security

1585. curity of Re-payment, *Flushing* and *Rammekins*, in *Zealand*, and *Brill*, in *Holland*, were delivered into her Hands; and no Peace or Truce was to be made without a mutual Consent.

The Queen appointed, for General of her Auxiliary Forces, the Earl of *Leicester*; but he went not over into *Flanders* till about the End of the Year.

Elizabeth thinking the King of *Spain* would doubtless look upon this Aid given his rebellious Subjects as a Declaration of War, she equipped a Fleet of 21 Sail to go and carry War into *America*, where the *Spaniards* little expected it.

The Fleet was commanded by the Earl of *Carlisle*, who had under him the famous Sir *Francis Drake*. The *English* took several Places in *America*, and brought Home a Booty, valued at 60,000 *l. Sterling*. *Ralph Lane*, who had been in *Virginia* some Time, came Home with *Drake*, and was the first that brought Tobacco into *England*.

The Duke of *Guise* concluded a Treaty with the King of *Spain*, and tried all Ways to corrupt the *French*, and draw them to his Party. His Aim was, to seize the Crown either before or after *Henry*'s Death. To attain his Ends, he began, by the Help of his Emissaries, to disparage the King as a Favourer of Hereticks, and to rouze the Zeal of the Catholicks against the *Hugonots*; and particularly against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, who professed the Re-

Reformed Religion, after having publickly abjured it. That done, under colour of hindering the Throne from being filled with a Heretick, he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral Places; pretending all the while, that it was for the King's Service, and the Good of the Realm. 1585.

The Life the King had led for ſome Time, cauſed him to forfeit the Eſteem of moſt of his Subjects. In ſhort, the Court of *Rome*, the Clergy, and Fryars, were for the Duke of *Guiſe*. Thus the King, being unable to reſiſt, was obliged to forſake the King of *Navarre*, and publiſh an Edict againſt the *Hugonots*, and join with the Duke in their Extirpation, and even to give him the Command of his Army.

The King of *Navarre* and the *Hugonots* finding themſelves thus attacked, drew together all their Forces; but not being able to withſtand their Enemies, the Prince of *Conde* came to *England*, and obtained of *Elizabeth* 50,000 Crowns, to help to carry on the War.

Sixtus V. being made Pope, thunder'd out the Cenſures of the Church againſt the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* the Beginning of this Year arrived in *Holland*. The States declared him Governor and Captain-General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the United Provinces. They had before offer'd the Queen the Sovereignty; but ſhe refuſed it, not being willing to be engaged further than ſhe ſaw

1586. ſaw was conſiſtent with her own Intereſt. She reprimanded the Earl for taking the Title given him; but his Submiſſion appeaſed her.

The Earl of *Leiceſter*, a Man of great Pride and Ambition, was no ſooner cloathed with this exorbitant Power, but he began ſecretly to form Projects deſtructive of the Liberties of the Country he was come to defend. His Deſign was to render himſelf Sovereign. In ſhort, after a Campaign, wherein he perform'd no great Exploits, he return'd to *England*, to take proper Methods to obtain his Ends, and probably to perſuade the Queen to ſupport him.

Whilſt *France* and the *Netherlands* were in Commotion, *Elizabeth* wiſely provided for her own and her Peoples Safety. She ſent *Randolph* to King *James*, to repreſent to him, that the Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion openly joining together for its Deſtruction, it was the Intereſt of the Proteſtant States to unite alſo for their common Defence; whereupon a Treaty was concluded to the Effect following.

That they ſhall be obliged to defend the evangelical Religion againſt all thoſe who ſhall attack it in either Kingdom. This League was made offenſive and defenſive, againſt thoſe who ſhould hinder the free Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion. They were to defend each other againſt any Invaſion; and Commiſſioners were appointed to ad-

adjuſt all Differences which had ariſen on the Borders. 1586.

Shortly after the Concluſion of this Treaty, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered in *England*, which coſt the Queen of *Scots* her Life.

Gilbert Gifford, Doctor of Divinity in the Seminary of *Rheims*, *Robert Gifford*, and *Hodgſon*, *Engliſh* Prieſts, had inſtilled into one *John Savage*, that it would be a meritorious Act to kill *Elizabeth*, and made him vow to do the Deed during the *Eaſter* Holidays this Year; after which they were to have Forces in readineſs to deliver *Mary*, and ſet her on the Throne of *England*. At the ſame Time *Ballard*, an *Engliſh* Prieſt of the ſame Seminary, went into *France*, where he had ſeveral Conferences with *Mendoza* and the Lord *Paget*, how to invade *England*. *Ballard* was accompanied by one *Maud*, whom he thought a Friend, but was Secretary *Walſingham*'s Spy.

About *Whitſuntide* he was ſent back into *England* by the Conſpirators, to win proper Perſons to facilitate the Execution of the Project. They told him he would meet at *London* with a young Gentleman, called *Anthony Babington*, whom he might confide in.

Some Time after *Gifford*, whether prick'd in Conſcience, or allured with the Hopes of a Reward, came to *Walſingham*, and informed him of all he knew; and *Gifford* conveyed Letters to the impriſon'd Queen, whereof *Walſingham* took Copies, and received her An-

1586. Anſwers, which he ſerved in the ſame Manner.

In ſhort, *Babington*, and all the reſt of the Conſpirators, were taken up at the ſame Time; and being examined every one apart, they impeached one another, and diſcovered the whole Affair.

This done, all *Mary*'s Papers were ſeized, and ſent to Court; who being ſufficiently informed of all the Circumſtances of the Plot, 14 of the Conſpirators, who confeſſed all, received Sentence of Death.

At laſt the Reſolution being taken to try and condemn *Mary*, ſhe was proſecuted upupon the Act paſſed the laſt Year, with a View to her in particular. Some pretend the Act was made only to keep her in Awe. Be that as it will, *Elizabeth*, by virtue of this Act, granted Letters Patent under the Great Seal, and appointed 42 Commiſſioners, with whom ſhe joined five Judges, to try the Queen of *Scots*.

The Queen of *Scots* being brought to Trial, was ſentenced to Death; which Sentence was confirmed by both Houſes, and ſhe was beheaded for having a Hand in the carrying on of the Plot.

Daviſon was the Inſtrument *Elizabeth* made uſe of to put the Sentence in Execution, who ſhe made Secretary of State. She delivered to him a Writing, ſigned with her own Hand, and ſealed with her Signets, commanding him to draw up the Warrant under

under the Great Seal for the Queen of *Scots*'s Execution. 1587.

Daviſon having put in execution the Queen's Commands, by the Advice of the whole Council, *Elizabeth*, after it was done, threw all the Blame upon him, pretending he had been too haſty; and he was tried for his Life in the Star-chamber, upon an Accuſation of Contempt and Diſobedience, tho' it does not appear he exceeded his Commiſſion: In ſhort, he was condemned to be fined in 10,000 *l.* and impriſoned during the Queen's Pleaſure. Thus *Daviſon* was made a Sacrifice, tho' the Council was more to blame than he, ſuppoſing he had acted contrary to the Queen's Intention, as was pretended.

The King of *Scotland* having received the News of the Queen his Mother's tragical End, ſhewed a very lively Reſentment at the ſame. His firſt Thoughts prompted him to Vengeance: But *Elizabeth* writ to him in an affectionate Manner; ſetting forth, that ſhe would think herſelf bound in Honour and Duty to repair his Mother's Wrongs, by leaving her Crown to the Son, in caſe he gave her no Occaſion to do otherwiſe.

James found it his Intereſt to keep fair with *Elizabeth*; and this Letter ſtifled his Reſentment to ſuch a Degree, that he ſhewed no further Marks of it.

Mean while *Elizabeth* hearing the King of *Spain* was making great Preparations to in-

1587. vade *England*, ſent *Drake* with a good Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, with Orders to burn all the *Spaniſh* Ships he ſhould meet. In this Expedition, he burnt above 100 Veſſels, laden with Victuals and Ammunition: He alſo took a rich Carack coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*. After this the *Engliſh* ſet up a gainful Trade and Traffick in the Eaſtern World, eſtabliſhing a Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants.

The Damage the *Spaniards* ſuſtained in this Expedition, obliged *Philip* to defer till next Year the Invaſion he had projected againſt *England*.

Cavendiſh was at the ſame Time in *America*; having enter'd the South-Sea, he plunder'd, without Oppoſition, the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, and did the *Spaniards* great Damage in thoſe Parts.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* was puſhing forwards his Project to become Sovereign of the United Provinces, by cheriſhing Trouble and Diſcord; but they began to perceive his Deſign, and were uſing Means to fruſtrate him.

At laſt, finding he was miſtruſted, he took the Reſolution to execute, by Force, the Project he had formed. To that End he would have made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places in the Heart of the Country; but his Deſign to ſurprize *Leyden* being diſcovered in ſeaſon, all Correſpondence between him and the States were entirely broke off. Whereupon the Queen was obliged to call him

him Home, and ſent in his Room the Lord *Willoughby*; but with no other Authority than the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops. Then the States conſtituted Count *Maurice* their Captain-General. 1587.

The King of *Spain* was ſtill intent upon his Project of invading *England*. He made his Title out as being ſprung from the Daughter of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, fourth Son to *Edward* III. And the Queen of *Scots* having conveyed to him, by Will, her Title to the Crown of *England*, he reſolved on the Conqueſt, according to the received Maxim of the Church of *Rome*, that a Heretick is unworthy and uncapable of enjoying a Crown.

Philip propoſed to the Pope, that he would reſtore the Catholick Religion in the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*. By that he perſuaded Pope *Sixtus* V. to come into the Project, as he was to reap a Benefit by this Change.

But as for *Sixtus*, he had nothing to contribute on his Part, but Vows, Prayers, and Anathemas. In order therefore to countenance the King of *Spain*, he thunder'd out his Bull againſt *Elizabeth*, abſolving her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and giving her Kingdoms to the firſt that ſhould ſeize them.

Philip had prepared in *Portugal*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, a Fleet, which was called beforehand, *The Invincible Armada*. It conſiſted of 150 great Ships; on board of which were em-

1587. embark'd 19,000 Men, and 2630 Pieces of Cannon. This Fleet was commanded by the Duke of *Medina-Celi*. On the other hand, the Duke of *Parma* had cauſed an Army of 3000 Men to advance towards the Coaſt of the Low Countries, and prepared great Numbers of Veſſels to tranſport them, in order to join the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and make a Deſcent in *England*. The Project was, to ſtation the Fleet at the Mouth of the *Thames*, to aſſiſt the Troops, who were to march directly to *London*.

Elizabeth, who wanted not good Spies, having timely Notice of theſe vaſt Preparations, provided for her Defence. She fitted out a conſiderable Fleet; but much inferior to the Enemy, both in Number and Largeneſs of the Ships, and gave the Command to *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. He had for Vice-Admirals, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher*; all three the beſt Sea Officers then in the World. *Henry Seymour*, ſecond Son of the Duke of *Somerſet*, lay upon the Coaſt of *Flanders* with 40 Sail, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from joining the *Spaniſh* Fleet. Moreover, *Elizabeth* had in *England* 40,000 Men; whereof 3000, under the Command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, were poſted near the *Thames* Mouth. The reſt were near the Queen's Perſon, ready to march where it might be deemed neceſſary. Beſides this, there was in each County a Body of Militia well armed, under Leaders, who had Orders to join one another,

as

as Occaſion ſhould require. It is certain there are no Train'd Bands in the World more proper for a bold Action than thoſe of *England*. 1518.

Elizabeth was ſo far from ſhewing any Faint-heartedneſs, that ſhe encouraged the People by her Looks, her Reſolution, and her affable Way of Expreſſion; which made them think ſhe was troubled only for their ſakes. She cauſed ſome of the Catholicks to be taken into Cuſtody; telling them, however, that it was only by way of Precaution.

As for *Ireland*, ſhe diſpatched Orders to the Lord Deputy to hinder the *Iriſh* from riſing: But, above all Things, ſhe took Care to careſs the King of *Scotland*, and to put him in Hopes of an ample Acknowledgment, if he ſtood firm to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*. She quickly heard, that *James* had no Correſpondence with the King of *Spain*; but ſtood upon his Guard, for fear of being invaded himſelf.

On the 19th of *July* the *Spaniſh* Fleet enter'd the *Engliſh* Channel, and on the 20th appeared in Sight of the *Engliſh*; who let them paſs by, in order to follow them before the Wind.

The 24th the Wind being at North, the Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſtood towards the *Engliſh* Fleet. There was that Day a ſharp Engagement; wherein the *Spaniards*, tho' much

1588. much ſuperior in Number of Ships, got no Advantage at all.

Mean while the Duke of *Medina-Celi* ſent Meſſengers every Day to preſs the Duke of *Parma* to put to Sea with his Army; but that was not practicable, by reaſon of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships.

The *Spaniſh* Fleet approached the Coaſt of *Flanders*, in order to compel the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to retire; But, on the 27th in the Evening, they were got no further than off *Calais*, where they came to an Anchor, being followed by the *Engliſh*, who lay within Cannon Shot.

Here the *Engliſh* Fleet was joined by a good Number of Ships, not only of the Queen's, but of divers *Engliſh* Noblemen, who had fitted out ſeveral at their own Expence: And now the Fleet conſiſted of 140 Ships of War; ſmall, indeed, in Compariſon of the *Spaniſh* ones.

Whilſt the *Spaniards* lay before *Calais*, the *Engliſh* Admiral ſent in the Night eight Fire Ships amongſt their Fleet. This Sight ſtruck them with ſuch a Terror, that inſtantly cutting their Cables, they put to Sea, to avoid the impending Danger.

In this Confuſion, one of the *Spaniſh* Ships loſt her Rudder, and was taken after a ſharp Engagement. Tho' the *Spaniſh* Admiral ordered every Ship to return to her Station, as ſoon as the Danger ſhould be over, there were but few that endeavoured to obey; ſo the Fleet remained diſperſed.

At

At last, perceiving the Impossibility of executing their Project, they resolved to return Home, by sailing round *Scotland* and *Ireland*. 1588.

The *English* Admiral seeing them stand to the Northward, gave them Chace, tho' at a little Distance, till they were past *Edinburgh* Frith.

The *Spanish* Fleet continuing their Course, sustained some further Damage by contrary Winds; which caused several of their Ships to be cast away on the Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Seven Hundred Soldiers and Mariners, who had escaped to Land in *Scotland*, were sent over to the Duke of *Parma*, with *Elizabeth*'s Consent.

But those ship-wrecked in *Ireland* were put to the Sword, or died by the Hands of the Executioner. Of the *Spanish Armada*, 32 Ships were taken and destroy'd, and 10,185 Men.

When *Philip* received the News of this ill Success, he swore he would either utterly ruin her Majesty and *England*, or else himself and all *Spain* become tributary to her. He had spent three Years in preparing this *Armada*, at an incredible Expence.

Upon the Retreat of this so formidable a Fleet, *England* was filled with an universal Joy. *Elizabeth* order'd Publick Thanksgiving to be made in all the Churches in *England*.

This Year died the Earl of *Leicester*. His

1588. His Death drew Tears from the Queen; who, nevertheleſs, ordered his Goods to be ſold at a publick Sale, for Payment of the Sums ſhe had lent him.

The Duke of *Parma* ſeeing the Enterprize fallen to the Ground, beſieged *Bergen-op-Zoom*; where was an *Engliſh* Governor, with a Garriſon almoſt all of the ſame Nation. The Governor acquired great Reputation by a gallant Defence: He even conſtrained the Duke to raiſe the Siege.

The Duke of *Guiſe* being grown more powerful than the King of *France*, came to *Paris*; and, by the Favour of the People, whoſe Idol he was, put the King under a Neceſſity of departing thence, having firſt ſeen the furious Populace chaining the Streets, and preparing to attack his Perſon. This is what was called *The Barricadoes of Paris*.

This inſolent Action was followed by an Agreement, which the King was forced to make with the Heads of the League, whereby he put ſeveral Places into their Hands.

Henry perceiving he was undone, if he did not put a ſpeedy Stop to their Career, cauſed the Duke and the Cardinal, his Brother, to be aſſaſſinated. This freed him at preſent; but it made the League and City of *Paris* openly declare againſt him.

As for *Scotland*, all was very quiet there during this Year, by the Management of the Miniſters and Counſellors who were attached to the Intereſts of *England*; and, by

by their Artifice, the Match was broke off with the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter. 1589.

One *Du Bard*, a *French* Poet, and Servant to the King of *Navarre*, came to *Edinburgh*, and, of his own Head, propoſed a Marriage between the King, and *Catharine*, his Maſter's Siſter. He ſaid ſo many fine Things of this Lady, that the King ſent to ſee her.

In the Beginning of the Year 1589 was diſcovered in *Scotland* a Conſpiracy againſt the King, hatched by the Earl of *Huntley*, and the Earl of *Bothwell*, Natural Son of *James* V. Their Deſign was, to become Maſter of the King's Perſon, and compel him to reſtore the Catholick Religion.

The King, by his Diligence, prevented the Execution of the Plot; and the Earl of *Huntley*, who had taken up Arms, was forced to ſurrender. *Bothwell* withdrew to his own Houſe, to meditate new Projects.

Philip Howard, Earl of *Arundel*, eldeſt Son to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been three Years a Priſoner, was tried and convicted of being diſaffected to the Government. He was condemned to die; but the Queen gave him his Life.

Elizabeth enjoy'd now a Tranquility, the like whereof ſhe had not before ſeen. She had nothing to fear at Home or Abroad; ſo had a-mind to let the *Spaniards* ſee the *Engliſh* knew how to attack as well as defend.

But, as ſhe was exceeding frugal, ſhe ordered Matters ſo, that *Drake* and *Norris*

1589. undertook the Expence, and were to have the Booty. She only found them a few Ships of War, and granted them Leave to raiſe Soldiers and Sailors.

They fitted out a Fleet, and embarked 11,000 Soldiers, and 1500 Mariners. The *Hollanders* having added ſome Ships, the Fleet conſiſted of 80 Sail of all ſorts.

Drake commanded at Sea, and *Norris* was General of the Land Forces. They took along with them Don *Antonio*, who ſtiled himſelf *King of Portugal*; and hoped, by the Help of the *Engliſh*, to be put into Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

They ſailed from *Plymouth*, and arrived at the *Groyne*; and, landing their Troops, they aſſaulted the Lower Town, and carried it by Storm; then they beſieged the Upper Town.

But *Norris* having Advice, that the *Conde di Andrada* was approaching with a Body of Troops to relieve the Place, ſuddenly raiſed the Siege to go and meet him, and ſlew 3000 of his Men. This done, he burnt ſeveral Villages; then re-embarked his Troops.

The Earl of *Eſſex* joined the Fleet with ſome Ships he had fitted out, at his own Expence, unknown to the Queen.

Next Day they arrived at *Penicha*, a little Town in *Portugal*, which they reſtored to Don *Antonio*. From hence *Norris* marched by Land to *Liſbon*, *Drake* promiſing to follow with the Fleet.

Drake

Drake, however, could not perform his Promiſe; but, in his Way, ſeized 60 Veſſels laden with Corn belonging to the Hanſe Towns. After which *Norris* and he met towards the North of the *Tagus*; and, after taking *Vigo*, and ſome other Places, returned to *England*. 1589.

This Expedition did ſome Damage to the King of *Spain*; but was no Benefit to *England*, for the Booty was not ſufficient to defray the Expence; beſides, above 6000 Men periſhed by Sickneſs.

The Hanſe-Towns made a great Noiſe, on account of this Seizure, and complained to *Elizabeth*; but they were told, that they had acted contrary to the Patent granted them by *Edward* I. and by aſſiſting *Spain* with Proviſions and Ammunition, which were contraband Goods, they were liable to Siezure.

The Step *Henry* III. had taken to diſpatch the Duke of *Guiſe*, ſet the League and moſt of the Kingdom againſt him. Hence he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity, and called in the King of *Navarre* and the *Hugonots* to his Aſſiſtance; and, having got an Army 38,000 ſtrong, beſieged *Paris*: Juſt as the Partiſans were returning to their Duty, *James Clement*, a *Jacobin* Fryar, ſtabbed the King in the Belly with a Dagger, of which he died. Before he expired, he nominated the King of *Navarre* for his Succeſſor, Head of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, who took the Name of *Henry* IV. but as he wanted

1589. ed both Men and Money to support his Right, he applied to *Elizabeth*, who sent him 4000 Men, under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and 20,000 *l. Sterling*.

Mean while the Duke of *Mayenne* had caused the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be proclaimed King, and himself had assumed the Title of *Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France*. *Henry* having approached *Paris*, was forced to retire, and return into *Normandy*, where he reduced some Places to his Obedience; which done, he sent Home the *English* Forces.

The King of *Scotland* persisting in his first Design to match into the King of *Denmark*'s Family, demanded his second Daughter: And tho' *Elizabeth* and the *Scots* Nobility were against the Match, yet he sent Ambassadors to conclude the Affair; which done, she embarked for *Scotland*; but, by contrary Winds, she was blown into *Norway*. *James* being impatient to see his Bride, went on board a small Vessel, and arrived at *Norway*, where the Marriage was solemnized, and returned not till *May* the next Year, bringing his Queen along with him.

The Civil Wars of *France* were now the main Affair of *Europe*. It could not longer be doubted but *Philip* II. designed to procure the Crown of *France* for his Daughter *Isabella*, Grand-daughter to *Henry* II. in spite of the Salic Law.

Elizabeth seeing what *Philip* was driving at, enter'd into a Treaty with *Henry*, whereby

by ſhe engaged to ſend 3000 Men into *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, to hinder the *Spaniards* from getting Footing in thoſe two Provinces, on Condition ſhe ſhould be re-paid the Charge within a Year. Preſently after, the 3000 *Engliſh* went over; part into *Bretagne*, under the Conduct of *Norris*, and part into *Picardy*, under the Command of Sir *Roger Williams*. 1590.

At the ſame Time *Henry* had negotiated in *Germany* a Levy of 11,000 Men: But this Supply not being ſufficient, he ſent to demand a ſecond from *Elizabeth*; giving her to underſtand, he intended directly to lay Siege to *Roan*.

Elizabeth's great Deſire to ſee the Maritime Towns of *France* out of the Hands of the Leaguers, made her enter into a new Treaty, whereby ſhe engaged to ſupply him with 4000 Men more, and to pay them for two Months; imagining that would be long enough for the Siege of *Roan*.

When theſe Supplies were ready, ſhe gave the Command to the Earl of *Eſſex*, a young Nobleman, who had much of her Favour; and for whom, 'tis believ'd, ſhe felt ſomething more than a bare Eſteem, tho' ſhe was then 58 Years of Age.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, greedy of Glory, departed from *England*, full of Hopes to ſignalize himſelf at the Siege of *Roan*: But, at his Arrival, he found the Siege had not been ſo much as thought of; which made him re-

turn

1591. turn to *England*, but left his Troops under the Command of *Williams*.

Elizabeth was touched to the Quick at being thus made a Cully of. She writ to *Henry*, that ſhe would re-call all her Troops, if the Siege was not immediately undertaken. This made *Henry* cauſe *Roan* to be inveſted.

The Earl of *Eſſex* knowing *Roan* was inveſted, ſet out, in order to be at the Siege, contrary to the Queen's expreſs Orders.

At the ſame Time *Elizabeth* diſpatched *Leyton*, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Uncle, with an expreſs Order for *Eſſex* to return forthwith, or be entirely out of Favour. *Eſſex*, upon this, was forced to go back into *England*, where he found Means to appeaſe the Queen.

Mean while the Duke of *Parma* having enter'd *France*, and being joined by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who had eſcaped out of Priſon, raiſed the Siege of *Roan*.

Henry, who had applied to *Elizabeth* for more Troops, eaſily perceived by her Behaviour, ſhe would not ſuffer herſelf to be amuſed by his Artifices; and, for fear of loſing ſo neceſſary an Aſſiſtant, he laboured ſo effectually to be reconciled with her, that, at laſt, ſhe ſent him 2000 freſh Men.

This ſame Year the Queen iſſued out Proclamations, prohibiting the carrying warlike Stores or Proviſions to *Spain*; and forbidding the harbouring any Perſon who ſhoul

ſhould come from the *Engliſh* Seminaries Abroad. 1592.

The War which was carrying on in *France* made *Elizabeth* continually uneaſy, becauſe the *Spaniards* had got Footing in *Bretagne*; from whence they might, with Eaſe, make ſome Attempt upon *England*.

Henry knowing full well her extreme Deſire to diſlodge them from that Poſt, demanded a further Aid to carry the War into that Province. Tho' *Elizabeth* had experienced, that ſhe could not much rely upon his Word; yet ſhe enter'd into a new Treaty to this Effect: That ſhe would furniſh him with 4000 Men more, and ſome Ordnance and Ammunition: That he ſhould add to the *Engliſh* 4000 Foot and 1000 Horſe; and this Army ſhould be employ'd to recover *Bretagne*: That he ſhould, within a Year, repay all her Charges: That he ſhould make no Peace, without including *England*.

Theſe Troops being ſent, *Henry*, inſtead of warring in *Bretagne*, ordered them to ſerve in *Normandy*, where he was hardeſt put to it.

Elizabeth reſented this highly, and, in her Anger, was juſt going to re-call her Troops: But having Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to make a third Expedition into *France*, ſhe ſacrificed her Reſentment to the Good of that Kingdom, which was, in ſome meaſure, her own. The Duke of *Parma* was juſt for entering *France*, when Death put an End to his Enterprize.

The

1593. The Earl of *Bothwell* this Year made a freſh Attempt to become Maſter of the King of *Scotland*'s Perſon; but his Deſign being diſcovered, he fled into *England*.

The Riches which the *Spaniſh* Fleets brought from the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, were continual Baits for the *Engliſh*, who attempted almoſt every Year to take them. Sir *Walter Raleigh* putting to Sea this Year with that Deſign, with 15 Sail, met with a Carack richly laden, which he took without much Difficulty. This Prize made Amends for the Expence he had been at.

There was a Sort of Prodigy this Summer at *London*; the *Thames* was ſo dried up, that a Man might ride over it near *London* Bridge on the 5th of *September*.

The Parliament paſſed an Act, which threw into great Perplexity, not only the Catholicks, but even ſuch of the Proteſtants who differed in certain Points from the Church of *England*, and were called *Puritans*. By this Act, thoſe who neglected to be preſent at Divine Service, as eſtabliſhed by the Law, were liable to certain Penalties. The Severity which from hence forward began to be exerciſed in *England* againſt the Non-conformiſts, brought forth terrible Effects in the following Reigns, and occaſioned Troubles and Factions which remain to this Day.

The ſame Parliament taking into Conſideration the great Expence the Queen had been at in defending the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, and

and in aſſiſting *France* and the United Provinces, granted her a very conſiderable Aid of Money; for which ſhe made a long Speech, expreſſing her great Affection for her People. 1598.

Bothwell not being able to ſtay any longer in *England*, *Elizabeth* having ordered him to depart, returned into *Scotland*. Shortly after, his Party increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that he had the Boldneſs to come into the King's Preſence, under colour of aſking his Pardon.

James was ſurprized to ſee him; but more ſo, when he ſaw his whole Court, except ſome of his Miniſters, were *Bothwell's* Friends. He ſaw himſelf therefore forced, as it were, to grant him a Pardon, upon Condition that he would depart the Kingdom, and not return untill re-called. *Bothwell* accepted the Condition, and concealed himſelf on the Borders of *England*.

Henry being convinced he ſhould never be fixed on his Throne, whilſt a Proteſtant, embraced the Catholick Religion. This gave *Elizabeth* great Uneaſineſs, who writ to him on that Subject, but to no Purpoſe.

However, finding it was not for her Intereſt to break with him, ſhe concluded a League, offenſive and defenſive, with *Henry*; and that Peace ſhould not be made without a mutual Conſent.

About this Time it was diſcovered in *England*, that one *Heſquet* had been ſent by ſome *Engliſh* Fugitives, to perſuade *Ferdinand*

1594. *dinand Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, to take the Title of King, as Great Grandſon to *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry* VII. When he propoſed this to the Earl, *Heſquet* added, that he might rely on the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Spain*; but, in caſe he refuſed, or did not keep the Secret, he might depend upon it he ſhould not live long.

The Earl fearing a Snare was laid for him, informed againſt *Heſquet*, who was hanged; but he died himſelf four Months after by a ſtrange Poiſon, which made him vomit himſelf to Death. He was ſucceeded by his Brother *William*, who had afterwards a famous Trial with *Ferdinand*'s three Daughters, for the Dominions of the *Iſle of Man*.

The King of *Spain* had formed a Project of having *Elizabeth* poiſoned, and then to invade *England*. *Roderigo Lopez*, a *Jew*, who was Phyſician to the Queen, had engaged to poiſon her for the Sum of 50,000 Crowns: But this being diſcovered, he, and two of his Accomplices, were hanged. Soon after *Patrick Cullen*, an *Iriſh* Fencing-maſter, who had been ſent from the Low Countries on the ſame Deſign, underwent the ſame Fate.

Henry being turned Catholick, the Cities and Great Men flocked to him, with Deſign to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. The City of *Paris* ſurrender'd to the King; and it was now that *Henry* began in earneſt to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Bretagne*. The Mar-

ſhal

ſhal *d'Aumont* was intruſted with the Ma- 1594.
nagement of this War; and the *Engliſh* Troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves with excellent Bravery.

The Affairs of *Scotland* gave *Elizabeth* great Uneaſineſs. The *Spaniſh* Faction was becoming powerful at Court; and it was ſaid, that *James* ſeemed to incline to the *Romiſh* Party. This made *Elizabeth* ſend an Ambaſſador into *Scotland*, to fortify the Adherents to the *Engliſh* Party, and to adviſe *James* to make the Laws more ſevere againſt the Catholicks; but the Embaſſy was little regarded.

Soon after *Bothwell* was enabled to enter *Scotland* with 4000 Men. He ſurprized *Leith*; and afterwards publiſhed a Manifeſto, importing, that Perſons dangerous to the Church and State, had, by Artifice, procured Admiſſion into the Council; and, by their Conduct, were carrying on Deſigns again the Evangelick Religion: that he had taken up Arms, in order to remove ſuch Counſellors, and prevent Conſpiracies againſt Religion.

The King aſſembled ſome Forces, and went againſt *Bothwell*, and an Engagement enſued; but *Bothwell* being ſeized with Fear, retired again into the Frontiers.

Tho' *Bothwell*'s Undertaking did not ſucceed, it had, nevertheleſs, a good Effect: For *James*, fearing to ſacrifice the Crown of *England* to his vain Projects, if he diſobliged *Elizabeth*, aſſembled the States, and prevailed

1595. ed to have the Catholick Lords baniſhed the Kingdom; and enacted new Laws againſt Papiſts.

The Catholicks began now to form new Projects. They in *England* thought of placing the Earl of *Eſſex* on the Throne; who, they had obſerved, did not approve of the Laws made againſt them.

Others were for promoting the Infanta *Iſabella*, Daughter of *Philip* II. to the Crown of *England*; and *Philip* made great Preparations for that Purpoſe.

The Fame of his Preparations reached all *Europe*, and produced Troubles in *Ireland*; where the Earl of *Tyrone* had enter'd into Rebellion, encouraged by the Promiſe of Succours from *Spain*. This obliged *Elizabeth* to ſend a ſtrong Supply of Troops to *Norris*, now in *Ireland*.

Henry had now reſolved on a War with *Spain*, and writ to *Elizabeth* to aſſiſt him with Troops. She commended his Reſolution; but as ſhe could neither rely on his Promiſes nor Treaties, excuſed herſelf from any further Expence.

The King of *Scotland* ſeeing it was his Intereſt to preſerve a ſtrict Union with *Elizabeth*, iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere Penalties, his Subjects on the Frontiers to do any Injury to the *Engliſh*, and *Elizabeth* did the ſame. This fixed a good Underſtanding betwixt them.

Henry ſtill ſolicited *Elizabeth* for a Supply of Troops; but as he ſtill ſuffered the

Spa-

Spaniards to continue unmoleſted in *Bretagne*, tho' *Elizabeth*'s Fears came chiefly from that Quarter, ſhe did not think proper to ſend any. The *Spaniards* this Year made a Deſcent from *Bretagne*, in *Cornwall*, and burnt ſome Villages. Theſe were the only *Spaniards* that ever ſet Foot in *England* as Enemies. 1595.

Henry, at laſt, applied to the States of the United Provinces, who finding it their Intereſt to aſſiſt *France*, ſent him a round Sum of Money, and ſome Regiments.

Elizabeth, upon this, ſent to the States to pay her the Money they owed her; but as they pleaded they were not then in a Condition, it was agreed, that the States ſhould engage for the future to pay the *Engliſh* Forces in their Service, and join the *Engliſh* Navy with a certain Number of their own Ships, in caſe the Queen ſhould be attacked by the *Spaniards*.

This Year Sir *Walter Raleigh* made a ſecond Expedition into *America* at his own Charge, from which he drew no great Advantage. The Queen likewiſe fitted out 26 Ships, to carry the War into that Country, under the Command of *Drake* and *Hawkins*; but as the *Spaniards* had taken all neceſſary Precautions, the *Engliſh* Admirals performed nothing remarkable. Both of them died in this Expedition.

The *Spaniards* made ſuch a Progreſs in *France*, that *Elizabeth* feared it might be of ill Conſequence to her. *Henry* cloſely ſolicited

1596. cited her Aid; and ſhe had conſented to ſend 8000 Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*. The *Spaniards* had now laid Siege to *Calais*; and *Elizabeth* demanded, that in caſe the Siege was raiſed by the *Engliſh*, to have the Town put immediately into their Hands, ſince it was, in effect, loſt to *France*.

But *Calais* being taken by the *Spaniards*, juſt as the *Engliſh* were embarking for its Relief, they were diſmiſſed; but the Queen lent a Sum of Money to *Henry*, on the Security of his two Ambaſſadors.

In the mean time the Queen being informed that the King of *Spain* was making Preparations to invade *England* and *Ireland*, reſolved to be before-hand with him. For this Purpoſe ſhe fitted out a Fleet of 150 Sail, among which were 22 *Dutch* Ships. She gave the Command to *Charles Howard*, as Admiral; and the Earl of *Eſſex* was appointed to command the Land Forces.

This Fleet ſailed near *Cadiz*, where they met with the *Spaniſh* Fleet, and a warm Engagement enſued. At laſt the *Spaniards*, deſpairing to make a longer Defence, reſolved to ſink their Ships, and eſcape to Shore.

Their Admiral's Ship, called *St Philip*, was burnt to Aſhes, with two others near her; the *Spaniards* themſelves ſetting them on Fire, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The *St Matthew* and

and *St Andrew* were taken, and moſt of the Ships ran aſhore. 1596.

While this Engagement laſted at Sea, the Earl of *Eſſex*, with 800 Men, marched to *Cadiz*. Juſt as he approached the City, he met with a Body of 500 *Spaniards*; who, on ſight of him, retir'd into the Town, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that the *Engliſh* were very near entering Pell-mell with them.

This put them into ſuch a Conſternation, that the *Engliſh* forced the Gate, and enter'd the Town, and became Maſter of the Market-place. Then the Garriſon and Inhabitants retired into the Caſtle, but ſoon ſurrender'd. The Capitulation was, that they ſhould have their Lives on Payment of 520,000 Ducats. No *Engliſhman* of Note, except Sir *John Wingfield*, was killed. The Earl of *Eſſex* ordered to be carried on board the Fleet a great Quantity of Silver, Ammunition, and other valuable Things.

On the other hand, Admiral *Howard* ſent Sir *Walter Raleigh* to burn the Merchant Ships lying at *Port-Real*. The Admiral was offered 2,000,000 of Ducats for their Ranſom, but refuſed it. In the mean time, the Duke of *Medina* found Means to unload ſome of their Ships, and to fire others, to prevent the *Engliſh* from receiving any Benefit from their Riches. Beſides the Merchantmen, the King of *Spain* loſt two Galleons, 13 Men of War, 11 Ships loaded for the *Indies*,

1596. *Indies*, and 13 others. The Loſs amounted to 20,000,000 of Ducats.

The Earl of *Eſſex* propoſed, in a Council of War, to keep *Cadiz*; but his Advice was not followed: ſo the Town was burnt, with ſome adjacent Villages, every one being impatient to return with his Plunder to *England*; and the Fleet ſet Sail homewards.

The Queen received theſe brave Men with Marks of Eſteem; but the Earl of *Eſſex* met with a Mortification at Court. He had, before his Departure, recommended Sir *Thomas Bodley* for Secretary of State; but the Queen, without regarding his Recommendation, conferred that Poſt on Sir *Robert Cecil*, the Lord Treaſurer's Son, who was not his Friend. This let him ſee his Credit was in the Decline; and gave him ſuch Uneaſineſs, that it threw him into extravagant Projects, which coſt him his Life.

Henry and *Elizabeth* ſoon after enter'd into a League, offenſive and defenſive; and the States were included.

The King of *Spain*, ſtill intent upon his Project againſt *England*, aſſembled all the Veſſels he had left, and, with all Expedition, fitted out a formidable Fleet, thinking to ſurprize *Elizabeth*. The Fleet ſailed from *Liſbon*, and ſteered directly for *England*: But a violent Storm ariſing in the Midſt of the Voyage, ſeveral of the Ships were loſt, and the reſt ſo diſperſed, that the Fleet was render'd unſerviceable for this Year.

In

In the Beginning of the Year 1597, *Philip* reſolved to make an Effort againſt *Ireland*, and made ready a Fleet for that Purpoſe: But *Elizabeth* having Advice of it, equipped 120 Veſſels, and gave the Command to the Earl of *Eſſex*. The Earl's Project was to ſail to the *Groyne*, and deſtroy the Armament preparing there; but contrary Winds, Tempeſts, and a Quarrel between the Earl and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, broke all theſe Meaſures, and the Fleet ſailed back to *England*, without doing any thing of Conſequence. 1597.

The Earl of *Eſſex* being returned to Court, met with a new Subject of Diſcontent. The Queen had created *Thomas Howard*, the Admiral, Earl of *Nottingham*; and had, among other Things, inſerted in his Patent, that this Creation was in Acknowledgment of his Services in taking the Town of *Cadiz*, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was affronted, aſcribing no Part of the Merit in taking *Cadiz* to the Admiral. Beſides, by this Creation, the new Earl was to take Place of him; but the Queen, to mitigate his Reſentment, created *Eſſex* Earl-Marſhal of *England*, which preſerved to him his Precedency.

The Hanſe-Towns having complained to the Diet of the Empire, on account of their Ships being ſeized by the *Engliſh*, *Elizabeth* alledged, that the Ships being loaded with Proviſions for the *Spaniards*, by the Law of Arms the *Engliſh* had a Right to ſeize Pro-

1598. viſions which were going to the Enemy, and that their Ships were returned.

However, the Emperor, at the Solicitation of the Hanſe-Towns, prohibited the *Engliſh* Merchants, called *The Adventurers*, all Commerce with the Empire. This obliged the Queen to prohibit the Commerce of the Hanſe-Towns in *England*.

Tho' *Henry* had engaged to enter into no Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, without *Elizabeth*'s Conſent, yet a Negotiation was on foot for that Purpoſe. The Queen ſeeing ſhe was going to loſe her Ally, called a Parliament to aſk a Supply; who being ſenſible of the Danger the Nation was in of an immediate Invaſion, voted an extraordinary Subſidy.

Elizabeth, and the States of the United Provinces, both ſent Ambaſſadors to *Henry*, to know upon what Terms he was concluding a Peace with *Spain*; but it was to no Purpoſe, for they could receive no Intelligence, and *Henry* even concluded the Peace, without either conſulting or including his Allies.

Elizabeth and the States finding themſelves abandoned by *Henry*, enter'd into a new Treaty, the Purport whereof follows: That the States ſhould give Security to *Elizabeth* for the Sum of 8,000,000 of Florins, to which all her Claims were limited; and then they concluded an offenſive and defenſive Alliance.

The Death of *Philip* of *Spain*, which fell out

out this Year, removed a little the Uneaſi- 1598.
neſs of *Elizabeth*. He died a diſmal Death, being devoured by Lice, ſwarming from Ulcers, with which he had been ſome Time afflicted; but he bore his Calamity with admirable Reſolution. *Philip* III. his Son, ſucceeded him.

This Year a troubleſome Affair diſturbed the Peace of the *Engliſh* Court. The Queen aſking Advice of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Admiral, concerning a fit Perſon to be ſent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*, diſcovered an Inclination for Sir *William Knowles*: But the Earl of *Eſſex*, tho' his Nephew, oppoſed it ſtoutly, with a View of having that Dignity conferred on Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a-mind to have removed from Court. But ſeeing the Queen immovable in her Sentiments, he turned his Back upon her with ſuch an Air of Contempt, that ſhe gave him a Box on the Ear. He immediately laid his Hand on his Sword, and being prevented from drawing it by the Admiral, he ſwore, that he neither could nor would put up ſo great an Indignity; nor would he have taken it from *Henry* VIII. himſelf, were he alive; and directly withdrew from Court: But his Friends laying before him the Folly of ſuch Menaces, he was prevailed upon to ſubmit, and the Queen gave him her Pardon; tho' few Perſons believed there was any Sincerity on either Side in this Reconciliation.

William Cecil, Baron *Burleigh*, Lord High Trea-

1598. Treaſurer, and for many Years Prime Miniſter and Confidant of the Queen, died this Year in extreme old Age. The Lord *Buckhurſt* ſucceeded him in the Office of High Treaſurer.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were in ſo ill a Situation, that the Kingdom was expoſed to the Hazard of being entirely loſt. The Advantages gained by the Earl of *Tyrone* over the *Engliſh*, had drawn the whole Province of *Munſter* into a Revolt. The Natives in every other Part, flattering themſelves that, with the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and King of *Spain*, the Earl of *Tyrone* would be able to free them intirely from the *Engliſh* Yoke, were come into the ſame Diſpoſition.

It was debated in Council before the Queen, Who was the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent to command in Chief? The Earl of *Eſſex* repreſented, in a long Speech, the great Neceſſity of ſending an able General; and he was the Perſon choſen. His Friends believed they did him a Pleaſure; and his Enemies hoped that this Poſt, and his Abſence from Court, would afford them Means to ruin him.

One knows not well what it was this Lord aſpired to; but for ſome Time he had made himſelf ſo popular, and had gained ſo far upon the People, by his affable Deportment, that he was almoſt adored. His Friends affected to publiſh his Diſſent from the Royal Houſe of *Scotland*, and from that of *England* by his Great Grand-mother; who numbered, amongſt her Anceſtors, *Edmund de*

de Langley, Duke of *York*, and *Thomas of* 1598.
Woodſtock, both Sons of *Edward* III. It was
inſinuated from this, that it would be better, after the Demiſe of the Queen, to place him on the Throne, than a foreign Prince.

His Enemies, ſenſible that he was forming ſome dangerous Conſpiracy, took Care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they heaped Praiſes upon him, extolled his Valour and Prudence, and his Firmneſs to the Proteſtant Religion, in order to engage him in Meaſures the better to work his Ruin. He had a lively Wit, and a great many amiable Qualities; but he was too much intoxicated with his own Merit, and regarded the reſt of the Nobility as very much his Inferiors. His Commiſſion veſted him with a Power more ample and extenſive than had ever been granted his Predeceſſors. He had Power to make War or Peace, and even to pardon the Earl of *Tyrone* and his Accomplices; a Power never before granted to any Lord Deputy.

The Beginning of this Year he ſailed for *Ireland*, with 20,000 Foot and 1300 Horſe. The *Engliſh* had never before ſeen ſo formidable an Army in that Iſland.

On his Arrival he affected to act directly contrary to his Inſtructions. He gave immediately the Command of the Horſe to his intimate Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, contrary to the Queen's expreſs Orders. Then, inſtead of marching directly againſt *Tyrone*, he turned his Arms againſt ſome Re-

1599. Rebels in *Munſter*, whom he drove indeed into the Woods and Mountains, but with the Loſs of a great many of his own Men. This made the Queen write to him in an angry Stile, and reproach him with acting contrary to Orders; commanding him, at the ſame Time, to march directly againſt *Tyrone*.

He excuſed himſelf by ſaying, the Council of *Ireland*, which knew beſt the Affairs of that Kingdom, was of Opinion, that he ought firſt to clear the Province of *Munſter*; and promiſed to march directly againſt *Tyrone*.

But, ſhortly after, he writ to the Court, that ſome Rebel *Iriſh* had called him back to *Dublin*, in order to chaſtiſe their Inſolence; which he did effectually: but after this ſecond Expedition, his Army was ſo diminiſhed, that he writ over for a Reinforcement. He began, however, to march into *Ulſter* againſt *Tyrone*; but his Van-guard, conſiſting of 1500 Men, under the Command of *Clifford*, fell into an Ambuſcade, and was entirely defeated.

Though it was aſtoniſhing, that with ſo fine an Army he had done nothing conſiderable, yet the Queen immediately ſent him ſome freſh Troops.

A few Days after, the two Armies coming near one another, *Tyrone* ſent word that he would ſubmit to the Queen; and deſired a Conference on the Banks of a ſmall River, where they might confer together, each

each ſtaying on his own Side. The Earl of *Eſſex* conſented, and they talked together about an Hour, without any Witneſs of their Converſation. 1599.

Two Hours after, *Tyrone* demanded a ſecond Conference, in the Preſence of ſome of the chief Officers of the two Armies; which being granted, it ended in a Truce till *May* the next Year, with this Proviſo, that either Party ſhould be at liberty to break it on Notice to the other fifteen Days before.

The Queen was extremely provoked at this Management, and ſuſpected him of ill Deſigns: She writ to him with great Paſſion, and reproached him with Contempt of her Orders.

This Letter wrought ſo upon him, that he came to a ſudden Reſolution of returning into *England* with his Army, to take Revenge upon his Enemies; and flattered himſelf with a general Inſurrection in his Favour: But the Earl of *Southampton* diverted him from ſo dangerous a Reſolution.

The News, however, that he was ſuſpected by the Queen, made him reſolve to go and juſtify himſelf before her, without demanding her Permiſſion. He left *Ireland*, attended by the Earl of *Southampton* and ſeveral Officers; who, on their Arrival in *England*, diſpers'd themſelves into different Places.

He only reſerved ſix Men to attend him, and poſted directly to the Queen; who received

1600. ceived him without any ſenſible Alteration in her Looks, and with ſome Shew of Kindneſs: But after ſhe had made him ſome Reproaches on his irregular Conduct, ſhe ordered him to be confined at the Houſe of the Lord-Keeper.

The Earl of *Tyrone* hearing that the Earl of *Eſſex* was under an Arreſt, broke the Truce, and did great Miſchief to the *Engliſh* Inhabitants in *Ireland*, intending to drive them entirely from thence.

In the mean Time the Partizans of the Earl of *Eſſex* were active to incite the People to an Inſurrection in his Favour; tho' this only did him Hurt, and increaſed the Queen's Suſpicions againſt him.

The Queen aſſembled the Council in the Star-chamber, where the Earl's Conduct was examined into, and unanimouſly condemned by all the Privy Counſellors.

Nothing more yet was done againſt him, but he was remanded to the Lord Keeper's Houſe; where he gave himſelf up to Devotion, and writing Letters to his Friends in ſo devout a Strain, that one might perceive he had bid Adieu to all worldly Vanities.

The Earl of *Tyrone* now flattered himſelf with becoming Maſter of all *Ireland*. The Pope ſent him a Bull, by which he granted to him and his Adherents Indulgences: But the Lord *Montjoy*, appointed Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the Room of *Eſſex*, found a Way to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the Rebels.

A

A Conſpiracy was carried on to murder the King of *Scotland*. Two of the Name of *Ruthven* invited the King to their Houſe, with Deſign to murder him, but he eſcaped by a ſort of Miracle. The two *Ruthvens* were killed in the Attempt, and their Accomplices condemned to Death: And afterwards an Act paſſed, to hinder any, for the future, to bear that Name. 1600.

The Earl of *Eſſex* writ ſuch ſubmiſſive Letters to the Queen, that ſhe clearly diſcovered her Sentiments to reſtore him to Favour; but his Friends and Domeſticks ruined him. They had made ſuch Cabals amongſt the People, that nothing was talked of but the Innocence of the Earl. This made the Queen undertake a Method, to let the prejudiced People ſee that he deſerved a heavier Chaſtiſement than that of a few Months Impriſonment, tho' ſhe had no Intention to proſecute him with Rigour.

For this Purpoſe he was again brought before the Council, who had four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, added to them. He was accuſed of his Contempt ſhewn to the Queen's Orders, in making the Earl of *Southampton* General; of his having neglected to fall upon *Tyrone*, tho' he had ſpecial Orders for that Purpoſe; of his having ſecretly conferred with that Rebel, and granted a Truce very prejudicial to the Queen's Affairs; and alſo, of having left his Poſt in *Ireland* without Leave.

After he heard the Articles of his Accuſation,

1600. ſation, he threw himſelf upon his Knees, and gave Thanks to God for all the Bleſſings he had received from his Goodneſs: He then acknowledged the Queen's great Favour to him; he declared he would neither excuſe his Faults in whole or in part, nor enter into any Conteſt with the Queen; he acknowledged his Guilt, but proteſted upon his Honour that his Heart had been always free from the leaſt Thought of Rebellion. Nevertheleſs, in the Proceſs of his Diſcourſe, he began to urge ſome Excuſes on his own Behalf; but the Lord-Keeper interrupted him, by reminding him that he had taken a good Way, but was now wandering from it: That in extenuating his own Crimes, he likewiſe extenuated the Queen's Clemency: And laſtly, that a manifeſt Diſobedience was but a bad Proof of a good Intention.

The Queen's Intention was, not to have him tried with Rigour, but to make him ſenſible that he had been treated with more Lenity than he deſerved.

His Confeſſion led him to the ſame End; whereas the Juſtification of his Crimes would have only obliged his Judges to have examined him with more Rigour.

After this the Commiſſioners, in a private Conſultation, were of Opinion, that he ought to be removed from the Council-board, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl Marſhal, and Maſter of the Ordnance, and committed to Priſon during the Queen's Plea-

Pleaſure. His Office of Maſter of the Horſe was left untouched at the Queen's expreſs Command, who was unwilling to withdraw all her Favours: She ordered likewiſe, that his Sentence ſhould not be entered upon Record. The Earl received this Chaſtiſement with ſo much Humility, that the Queen, pleaſed with his Behaviour, gave him full Liberty. 1600.

The Queen, 'tis certain, had a great Eſteem and Value for *Eſſex*; but he was but a bad Courtier, his Pride having carried him beyond the Bounds of Reaſon. Her Intention was only to humble his proud Spirit.

The Earl, who was ſenſible of her Affection, petitioned the Queen for the Continuation of the Farm of the Sweet Wines, which had been hitherto very profitable to him; but the Queen, willing to try his Patience a little longer, refuſed it.

This fired him with a Reſolution to put his Credit to the Trial by open Force, and of deſtroying all his Enemies about the Queen's Perſon: And, for this Purpoſe, he left his Country Seat and came to his Houſe at *London*; where great Numbers of ſuſpicious Perſons reſorted to him. The Earl of *Southampton*, who had withdrawn into the *Netherlands*, returned and reſided with the Earl.

His Enemies improving theſe falſe Steps to his Diſadvantage, found Means to fill the Queen with Jealouſy of his Deſigns, and Spies were placed about him.

The

1601. The Earl, however, had formed a Deſign to ſeize the Queen's Perſon: He eſtabliſh'd a Council, compoſed of the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, and ſome others. All being met, the Earl gave them a Liſt of certain Noblemen, whom he believed to be at his Devotion. The Reſult of their Deliberation was, to ſeize the Palace and Perſon of the Queen; but he waited firſt for the Arrival of the *Scots* Ambaſſadors, he having intimated to the King of *Scotland*, that a Plot was carrying on at Court in favour of the Infanta of *Spain*, who was to ſeize the Crown upon the Demiſe of the Queen.

In the mean time the great Reſort of ſuſpected Perſons to his Houſe, ſome Words unwarily dropt, and the Reports of the Spies, confirmed the Suſpicions of the Court.

Therefore the Council met, and *Eſſex* was ſent for to attend; but he excuſed himſelf under colour of an Indiſpoſition. Soon after he held a Council, Whether he ſhould purſue his firſt Deſign, or attempt to raiſe the City of *London*, or make his Eſcape? not doubting but his Deſigns were diſcovered.

The Reſult was, to endeavour to raiſe the City; and the next Day the Earl, attended by two Thouſand Men, deſigned to repair to the City, and aſſemble the Common Council, to require their Aſſiſtance.

In the Interim the Queen ſent the Lord-Keeper, and two more, to his Houſe, to know

know the Reaſon of ſo great a Concourſe. The Earl told him, a Deſign was formed to murder him in his Bed, and that he had aſſembled his Friends for his Safety. However, he detained the three Privy Counſellors. 1601.

Immediately after, he began to march with his Company, and, entering the City, cried out, *For the Queen! For the Queen! A Plot is laid for my Life!* Then he went to the Sheriff's Houſe, which was at a good Diſtance; and, during a long March, was not joined by one Citizen. The Sheriff, who ſaw him at a Diſtance, withdrew out at a back Door, and went directly to the Mayor.

The Earl ſeeing himſelf diſappointed, and hearing he was proclaimed a Traitor in one of the Wards, left the Sheriff's Houſe, and in the Streets cried out, That *England* was going to be delivered to the Infanta of *Spain*, conjuring the Inhabitants to take up Arms for the Prevention of ſo great a Misfortune: But ſeeing no Body give him the leaſt Countenance, and underſtanding at the ſame Time, that the Admiral was marching againſt him at the Head of a good Body of Men, he reſolved to return to his own Houſe; but coming to *Ludgate* he was ſtopt, and was obliged to return back to St *Paul*'s.

Here it was repreſented to him, that it would be proper to ſet the three Privy Counſellors at Liberty; which he did, and accompanied them himſelf to *Whitehall*.

The

1601. The Earl, however, continuing his Reſolution of returning to his own Houſe, found the Street ſecured by a great Chain and a Guard of Soldiers. As he ſaw no other Way, but an Attack upon the Guards, he gave *Blunt* Orders to fall on, and himſelf ſeconded him, Sword in Hand, with great Reſolution; but he was beat back, and wounded in the Thigh by a Muſket-ball, and *Blunt* taken Priſoner: However, he found Means to get to his Houſe, which was ſituated on the *Thames* Side, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Boats, with a ſmall Retinue, (the greateſt Part being diſperſed). His firſt Care was, to burn ſome Papers, and then fortify his Houſe in the beſt Manner he could.

Shortly after, the Admiral inveſted the Houſe, then ſummoned thoſe within to ſurrender. The Earl offered to ſurrender on theſe three Conditions: That they ſhould all be civilly treated; tried according to the Laws; and that *Aſhton* the Miniſter ſhould be ſent to him, to comfort him in Priſon. *Aſhton* was a Preſbyterian Miniſter.

The Admiral granted the firſt; and ſaid, there was no Doubt but the Queen would perform the ſecond, and that he would uſe his Intereſt to obtain the third.

This done, the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Rutland*, *Southampton*; the Lords *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Monteagle*; with *Danvers* and *Bromley*, were ſent to the Tower: the reſt were committed to other Priſons. Next Day the Queen or-

ordered Proclamation to be made in *London*, of her Thanks to the Inhabitants for their Fidelity. 1601.

Soon after *Thomas Lee*, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Creature, and intimate Friend of the Earl of *Tyrone*, was hanged, for having ſaid to a certain Officer, That it would be a glorious Action for ſix brave Men to force the Queen to releaſe *Eſſex* and the other Priſoners.

At laſt, ſome of the Priſoners having diſcovered all that had been reſolved by the Conſpirators, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Trials, and were accuſed of the Crimes I have related, and both were condemned to die as Traitors. They made little Defence. *Eſſex* diſcovered an Indifference either to Life or Death; but *Southampton* prayed the Interceſſion of the Peers to the Queen for his Pardon.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, after his Sentence, ſeriouſly reflected on his paſt Conduct, and was very penitent. *Aſhton*, the Miniſter, contributed much to bring him to this Diſpoſition. This Miniſter adviſed him to declare all he knew in the Conſpiracy, making him believe he ſhould be eternally damned if he concealed any Part. This made him make a full Diſcovery of all his Accomplices.

The 25th of *February* was appointed for his Execution. That Day the Queen appeared ſomething irreſolute; ſhe even ſent

an

1601. an Order to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to ſtop his Execution; but preſently after ordered him to proceed. This Irreſolution, pretended or real, has afforded Plenty of Matter for Plays and Romances; in which *Elizabeth* is repreſented as agitated between Love and Anger, not knowing which of the Paſſions ſhe ſhould obey; tho' ſhe was then in the 68th Year of her Age. The Earl died like a good Chriſtian, and gave Signs of a Repentance which appeared ſincere to all the Spectators.

The Queen had ever, till this happened, diſtinguiſhed the Earl from all the reſt of her Courtiers; not only by Poſts, Employs, and Commands, but alſo by particular Marks of her Favour: which were viſible to all the World, and made him be look'd upon as a Favourite. Theſe Favours produced their uſual Effects; that is to ſay, Pride and Vanity.

The Earl being dead, his principal Accomplices were tried and condemned: The Earl's Confeſſion being read in Evidence againſt them, *Blunt*, *Danvers*, *Davis*, *Cuff* the Earl's Secretary, and *Merrick* his Steward, all received Sentence of Death.

The Queen and the Council believed it prudent to finiſh the Executions with theſe few Perſons, by reaſon of the Number and Quality of the Criminals. The Earl of *Southampton* was kept in Priſon; the reſt had only Fines impoſed upon them, which were remitted to the greateſt Part. Sir *Henry*

Henry Nevil was only condemned to Impriſonment, tho' it was proved he was privy to the Conſpiracy, and made no Diſcovery. 1601.

The Parliament being met, Complaints were brought before the Commons concerning divers Monopolies, authorized by the Queen's Letters Patent; which gave ſome private Perſons the ſole Privilege of ſelling certain Commodities excluſive of all others. The Queen being informed, that the Commons looked upon theſe Monopolies as ſo many Breaches of the People's Privileges, annulled the greateſt Part of theſe Grants, and left the reſt to be tried by the Laws. This Proceeding, however, before ſhe had been addreſſed on that Account, was ſo pleaſing to the Commons, that they deputed Eighty of their Members to wait upon her with their Thanks.

Elizabeth, in truth, had no Deſigns upon the Subjects Liberties: Juſtice was adminiſter'd impartially, and the Revenues of the Crown were not idly ſquandered away. The People had therefore Reaſon to believe the Queen truly loved them, ſince ſhe cauſed them to enjoy ſo great Happineſs. The Parliament was ſo pleaſed with the Queen's Behaviour, that, to ſhew their Gratitude, they granted her the largeſt Subſidy they had ever given her ſince the Beginning of her Reign.

The War in *Ireland* was carried on this Year with better Succeſs than in the two foregoing ones. The Rebels received Succours

1601. cours from *Spain*, under the Command of *Don Juan de Aguila*; who landed at *Kinſale*, and became Maſter of the Town: He publiſhed a Manifeſto, declaring, That *Elizabeth* being lawfully depoſed by the Pope, her Subjects were abſolved from their Oath of Allegiance; and he was come to deliver *Ireland* from the Jaws of the Devil. But inſtead of making the Progreſs he expected, he was immediately beſieged in *Kinſale* by the Lord Deputy.

Shortly after, the Earl of *Tyrone* approaching the *Engliſh*, in order to raiſe the Siege, he was utterly routed; after which the *Spaniſh* General was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his Troops into *Spain*. During the reſt of the Winter the Lord Deputy had ſuch Succeſs, that *Tyrone* was much reduced.

Mean while the Queen, willing to divert the *Spaniards* from freſh Attempts, fitted out 80 large Ships, and ſome of leſſer Burthen, under the Command of Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Mounſon*. They attacked a large Carrack, Burthen 1600 Tons, which was come from the *Eaſt Indies*, and lay under the Caſtle of *Zizambra*, in *Portugal*; where ſhe was guarded by Eleven Gallies. Notwithſtanding the Difficulty of the Undertaking, they diſperſed the Gallies, and became Maſters of that rich Ship, which was valued at a Million of Crowns, and brought her to *England*; having loſt only Twelve Men in the Fight.

The

The Affairs of *Tyrone* ſtill grew worſe: 1603.
The Lord Deputy purſued him ſo cloſely, that he offered to ſubmit to the Queen; and yielded himſelf to the Lord Deputy, who reſolved to carry him into *England*.

In the Beginning of this Year, the Queen was taken with a Sickneſs, which ſoon carried her to her Grave. Her being obliged to have the Ring ſhe wore on her Finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill Omen; becauſe ſhe was wont to ſay, That with that Ring ſhe had been joined in Marriage with her People.

She had the Mortification, before her Death, to ſee herſelf neglected by moſt of her Courtiers; who began to court the Favour of the King of *Scotland*. This threw her into a Melancholy which ſhe could not hide. The Council ſeeing her Death approaching, deſired her to name her Succeſſor; and ſhe named the King of *Scotland*. She died in the 70th Year of her Age, and the 44th of her Reign.

This illuſtrious Queen had many Virtues and noble Qualities, and few Faults; and the *Engliſh*, under her, enjoyed a State of Felicity far exceeding what had been in any former Reign; which makes her Memory precious.

24. JAMES I.

AS ſoon as *Elizabeth* was dead, the Council met, and immediately opened her Will and read it; in which was confirmed what ſhe had declared by word of Mouth, in naming the King of *Scotland* her Succeſſor. He had a threefold Right, which rendered his Title indiſputable: The firſt is, what they call Parliamentary Right; which derived its Validity from the Act of Parliament ſecuring the Crown to *Henry* VII. and his Iſſue: The ſecond was Hereditary Right, being next Heir to *Elizabeth*: And theſe were ſtrengthened by *Elizabeth*'s Will: So the Lord Mayor proclaimed him King ſix Hours after the Queen's Death.

The *Engliſh* were in great Fear on account of Religion. *James* was born of Catholick Parents, but was educated in the Proteſtant Religion; tho' it differed a little from that eſtabliſhed in *England*; if not in Doctrines, yet in Diſcipline, and ſome other Points of external Worſhip; which the two Churches looked upon as of great Importance: In a word, it was the Preſbyterian

or

or Puritanical Religion; and this Prince had made appear, on ſundry Occaſions, that he was far from being an Enemy to the Romiſh Religion. All this gave ſuch different Proſpects of him, as held the World in Suſpenſe. 1603.

As ſoon as *James* was informed by the *Engliſh* Council, of his being proclaimed, he ſet out for *London*, attended by ſeveral Lords. At *York* moſt of the *Engliſh* Lords met him, and paid their Obeiſance: Among the reſt was Secretary *Cecil*, whom every body looked upon as out of Favour, as he was ſworn Enemy to the Earl of *Eſſex*; but he had taken Care, before the Queen's Death, to keep a ſecret Correſpondence with *James*, who received him with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem.

Before he arrived at *London* the Council met him, and he added to their Number ſeveral *Scots* Lords; his Deſign being, as plainly afterwards appeared, to make but one Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*. At the ſame Time the King received into Favour the *Howard* Family, who had been in Diſgrace in the late Reign, for the Sake of the Queen of *Scots*, his Mother. Before he reached *London*, he made about 200 Knights; and ſome Days after his Arrival there, he made a great many more: Indeed, it is pretended, the Current of Honour was ſo ſtopt in *Elizabeth*'s Reign, that ſcarce any County had Knights enough to make a Jury.

The Lord *Thomas*, Son of the late Duke of

1603. of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*; and *Thomas*, the Son of *Philip*, his eldeſt Brother, was made Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*; *Thomas Sackville*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, was made Earl of *Dorſet*; Sir *Robert Cecil* was made Earl of *Saliſbury*; and *Philip Herbert*, the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Brother, was made Earl of *Montgomery*. I confine myſelf to theſe, becauſe their Names moſt frequently occur in the Beginning of this Reign. I muſt add farther, that the Earl of *Southampton*, who had been condemned to die, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Son, were reſtored to their Eſtates and Honours before the King reached *London*; and a great Number more Earls and Barons were made before his Coronation: But the Lords *Grey* and *Cobham*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had been Enemies to the Earl of *Eſſex*, were but coldly received; but *Cecil* had the Addreſs and Policy to get off.

James had good natural Parts, and a great Share of Learning: but he loved to be flattered; which made his Courtiers attack him where he lay moſt open: That is, they took all Occaſions to applaud his Wiſdom, Learning, and Parts; as this pleaſed him infinitely, it was the beſt Way to get into his Favour. The called him the *Solomon* of the Age, and ſtiled him, Sacred Majeſty; all to inſinuate into his Favour.

James aſſumed his Title to the Crown ſolely by hereditary Right; and could not bear that it ſhould be thought, that he derived

rived his Title either from *Elizabeth*'s Will, or the Authority of Parliament; and he drew from this terrible Conſequences, tending to no leſs than a downright deſpotick Power, and, of courſe, to the Subverſion of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. From this hereditary Right he inferred, that his Will ought to be the ſole Meaſure of his Government. From this ſprung Diviſions between the King and Parliament, which continued during the three following Reigns. This very Thing likewiſe gave Birth to the Tory and Whig Factions, who contend with one another to this Day. 1603.

Tho' *James* inſiſted, that he came to the Crown by hereditary Right; yet it may be obſerved, that of 23 Kings, from *William the Conqueror* to this Time, above one half, at leaſt, did not aſcend the Throne by hereditary Right; and thoſe that even did aſcend as Heir, neglected not to have their Titles confirmed by the Parliament, when they deemed them liable to any Objections; but *James*'s aſſerting this ſuppoſed hereditary Right, was the firſt Cauſe of Troubles on this Score.

This Prince's Choice of the Miniſters, who were to manage the Publick Affairs, helped not a little to inſpire the King with the Sentiments of a Regal Authority. The firſt was *Robert Cecil*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, who making his Court to him, by talking of kingly Government according to his Notions, produced in the King Reſolutions diſ-

ad-

1603. advantageous to the Nation and Parliament. He was, in other reſpects, a Man of great Genius, conſummate Prudence, and vaſt Capacity. The Earls of *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, the one Lord Chamberlain, the other Lord Keeper, were far behind the Earl of *Saliſbury* in Parts and Ability. 'Tis pretended they were Papiſts in their Hearts; and as the Catholick Religion could not be reſtored in *England*, but by an arbitrary Power, they indulged the King in his Notions concerning Regal Authority. To theſe three Lords the King committed the chief Management of his Affairs. All the reſt of the Courtiers followed the ſame Method, and endeavoured to gain the King's Favour by a blind Submiſſion to his Will.

Shortly after the King arrived at *London*, he ſent a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies into *Scotland*, to attend the Queen and his Children, who were ready to come to him.

About this Time the Lord *Mountjoy* returned out of *Ireland*, and brought with him the Earl of *Tyrone*. This Lord was honourably received, ſworn one of the Privy Council, and made Earl of *Devonſhire*. *Tyrone* was pardoned, and Proclamation made, that all Men ſhould treat him with Reſpect.

The King of *France* ſent an Ambaſſador to congratulate the King, and to renew the defenſive Alliance made with *Elizabeth*, and ſucceeded to his Wiſh.

The

The Plague, which broke out at *London*, occaſioned the King to retire to *Wilton*. While the Court was there, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered; the Authors whereof were the Lords *Grey*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and ſome others. The Deſign was to ſet on the Throne *Arabella Stuart*, the King's Couſin German. They were all tried at *Wincheſter*, and condemned to die. Only *George Brook*, however, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, and two Prieſts, were executed. The King pardoned the reſt. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was confined in the Tower 12 Years, where he writ the *Hiſtory of the World*. 1603.

For the more ſolemn Reception of Ambaſſadors, at this Time was inſtituted a new Office, by the Name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*.

On the 25th of *July*, being St *James*'s Day, the King and Queen were crowned at *Weſtminſter* with the uſual Solemnity.

The Papiſts and Puritans were each in Hopes of a Change in their Favour. The Papiſts petitioned the King on this Occaſion; but he anſwered, he thought himſelf obliged to ſupport what he found eſtabliſhed at his coming.

The Puritans afterwards preſented their Petition, not only for a Toleration, but alſo to pray the King that ſundry Articles in the Church of *England*, which they could not comply with, might be reformed. The Biſhops ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this Petition.

1603. The King, not to appear too partial, determined to hear Arguments on both Sides, and appointed a Conference between the two Parties, wherein he himſelf would be Moderator.

The Conference between the Biſhops and Preſbyterian Miniſters was held at *Hampton* Court. The principal Things the Miniſters objected againſt, uſed in the Church of *England*, were, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Ring in Marriage, and the Surplice; which they looked upon as ſuperſtitious. The Biſhops anſwer'd all their Objections; and the King himſelf let them ſee that he would not ſeparate from the Church eſtabliſhed; and that they were miſtaken in depending upon his Protection.

The King afterwards iſſued a Proclamation, commanding all Jeſuits, and other Prieſts having Orders from any Foreign Power, to depart the Kingdom. This Proclamation was ſo worded, that it appeared the King did not baniſh the Jeſuits out of Hatred to the Catholick Religion, but only on account of the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy.

This Proclamation was followed by another, enjoining the Puritans to conform themſelves to the Worſhip of the Eſtabliſhed Church. The King intimated in the firſt Proclamation, that he would have Regard to the tender Conſciences of ſuch Catholicks as could not comply with the received Doctrines of the Church of *England*; but in this there

there was not the leaſt Indulgence for the tender Conſciences of the Puritans. This ſhewed, that in his Heart he was rather a Favourer of the Catholick Religion. 1604.

The King frequently gave Occaſion to believe he had formed a Deſign to free both himſelf and Succeſſors from the Reſtraint which the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Privileges of the *Engliſh* Nation, had laid upon the former Kings; and, from one End of his Reign to the other, he embraced all Opportunities to make the moſt of his Prerogative-royal, to which he ſet no Bounds but his own Pleaſure. The firſt publick Step that diſcovered his Sentiments in this Matter, was the conveening of the firſt Parliament: For, both in the Writs, and the Proclamation to call the Parliament, he took upon him to deſcribe what ſort of Repreſentatives ſhould be elected; not by way of Exhortation, as the preceeding Kings had done, but by way of Command; and as Conditions without which they ſhould not be admitted into the Houſe. This was directly ſtriking at the Commons, whoſe Privilege of deciding the Validity of Elections had never been queſtioned.

The Parliament being met, and the King ſeated on his Throne, ſent for the Commons as uſual; but as the Crowd was great, it happen'd that ſeveral of the Members could not get in. Sir *Herbert Crofts*, one of the Repreſentatives, ſtriving to enter, was rudely thruſt back by one of the King's Guards; who knowing him to be what he was, ſaid

to

1604. to him in a Jeer, *Goodman Burgeſs, you come not here.* This Thing made ſome Noiſe afterwards; but the Houſe thought proper to take no Notice of it.

Then the King made a long Speech, which diſcovered his Deſign. It contained Matter which was neither pleaſing to the Catholicks nor Puritans, nor even to the Proteſtants themſelves. In this Parliament a Suſpicion and Jealouſy of the King began to ariſe in the Peoples Minds; and this made the Houſe of Commons reſolve to be upon their Guard.

The firſt Thing the Parliament ſet about was to prepare an Act for the acknowledging the King's Title to the Crown of *England*. *James* had not required it; but had rather hinted in his Speech, that his Birthright was ſufficient: yet the Parliament thought proper to preſerve the Privilege they had all along enjoyed.

Then the Parliament appointed Commiſſioners to examine the King's Propoſal, which he made in his Speech, concerning the Union of the Two Kingdoms; but the King had already put Obſtacles in the Way, by beſtowing Honours and Riches upon his *Scots* Courtiers with a laviſh Hand. This raiſed the Jealouſy of the *Engliſh*, and rendered them very averſe to the Union the King had projected. With this Backwardneſs the Commiſſioners met to examine the Benefits and Inconveniences, in order to make their Report to the two Houſes.

Whilſt

Whilſt this Affair was in hand, the People could not forbear ſhowing ſome Diſcontent with reſpect to Religion. The Catholicks had expected greater Favours from a Prince whom they had imagined to be in their Intereſt. The Preſbyterians were enraged to ſee the King openly prefer the Papiſts before them. All the Proteſtants had heard, with Grief, the Advances the King made to the Papiſts; eſpecially the Offer he made in his Speech of meeting them Half-way. This Expreſſion was ſo obſcure, that they could not imagine what was to be this Half-way. 1604.

The Puritans were ſo offended to ſee ſo little Charity for them, and great Condeſcenſion for the Papiſts, that they did not ſcruple to charge the King, the Biſhops, and the zealous Epiſcopalians, with being ſo many Agents for the Pope. Amidſt thoſe Diviſions ſeveral Jeſuits got themſeves received, ſome as Preſbyterian Miniſters, others as Church of *England* Prieſts; and, under theſe borrowed Outſides, they carried ſo far the Principles of the two Parties, that the Breach was render'd irrepairable.

At the ſame Time thoſe who approached the King's Perſon, both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, in order to gain his good Graces and Favours, extolled his Learning and Parts, and talked of the Royal Authority according to his Principles. When the Temper and Character of this Prince was well known by the People,

1604. People, the Eſteem they had at firſt entertain'd for him eaſily abated.

The main Buſineſs for which the King called the Parliament, was the uniting the two Kingdoms. He had ſo high a Conceit of his Eloquence, that he did not queſtion Succeſs in the Affair; and the appointing Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe confirm'd him in his Belief: So, whether through Impatience, or to engage the Parliament the ſooner to unite the two Kingdoms, he ordered himſelf to be proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, without ſtaying for the Parliament's Determination.

There was another Thing alſo which ſerved not to gain the King the Peoples Goodwill. The Commons having, according to Cuſtom, examined the conteſted Elections, there was a Debate in the Houſe about the Return of the Election of Sir *Francis Goodwin*; and, upon a full Hearing, he was declared duly elected. Three Days after, the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, that there might be a Conference between the two Houſes about *Goodwin*'s Election. The Commons, ſurprized at ſo extraordinary a Meſſage, refuſed to grant it. The Lords replied, that the King being acquainted with what had paſſed in *Goodwin*'s Caſe, thought himſelf engaged in Honour to have the Caſe debated again; and had ordered them to confer with the Commons on that Subject. They alledged their Reaſons againſt it; but all they could obtain was, that, inſtead

24. JAMES. 1175 ſtead of a Conference with the Lords, the King commanded them to have one with the Judges. They did not like this any more than the other; but, being afraid of engaging in a Rupture with the King, did not ſtand out: but, however, determined to ſtand to what had been determined. Certainly the King had not come off with much Honour, had it not been for *Goodwin*'s Moderation. He choſe to forfeit his Right, rather than cauſe a Quarrel between the King and the Commons; and therefore dropt his Election. The King and Commons equally accepted of this Expedient, which prevented them from bringing Things to Extremities: But the King knew from hence, that no great Account was made of the Proclamation publiſhed, when he called the Parliament, whereby he meant to have the Elections in his Power. 1604.

The Commons perceiving by this the King's Deſign, preſented an Addreſs to him about certain Grievances, and took Occaſion to repreſent their Privileges. This Addreſs put him in ſo ill a Humour, that the next Day he prorogued the Parliament for eight Months, that he might have Time to think of Meaſures to humble the Commons.

It is certain, thoſe that approached the King's Perſon inſpired him with a Deſign of making himſelf abſolute, or rather to confirm him in this Reſolution; beſides, arbitrary Power is as advantageous to Miniſters and

1604. and Courtiers, as it is prejudicial to the reſt of the Nation. Several Writers accuſe the Biſhops of having been in the Number of the Flatterers; at leaſt, it is certain, that, from the Reign of *James*, to this Time, many of the Clergy have endeavoured to perſuade the People, that they ought to acknowledge in the Sovereign an unlimited Authority, and have carried Paſſive Obedience in *England* as high as under the moſt arbitrary Monarchies.

Bancroft, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a moſt zealous Aſſerter of the Prerogative-royal, was the firſt who attempted to leap over the uſual Bounds, by cauſing ſome Things to depend on the King's Will, which were undeniably within the Parliament's Juriſdiction.

The Concluſion of a Peace with *Spain* ſoon followed the Prorogation of the Parliament. By the Treaty it was agreed, that neither the Kings of *England* nor *Spain* ſhould, directly or indirectly, give Aid to the Rebels or Enemies of either Party, of what Nature ſoever they were; and they renounced all former Leagues, Confederacies, Capitulations, and Intelligences, contrary to this Treaty.

During the reſt of this Year nothing remarkable paſſed in *England*. The King led a very quiet Life amidſt the Flatteries of his Court, and dealt about his Favours to his Minions with a very laviſh Hand; but this Liberality bred a great Diſguſt in thoſe who

who had no Share in it. Queen *Elizabeth* steered a quite different Courſe, in this reſpect; but *James* did not think fit to take her for a Pattern. Never were Honours beſtowed with leſs Diſcretion and Prudence than in this Reign. 1605.

The Town of *Oſtend*, now beſieged three Years by the *Spaniards*, was at length forced to capitulate. Above 120,000 Men were ſaid to be ſlain on both Sides in this Siege.

The King made Choice of his High Admiral, the Earl of *Nottingham*, for Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Spain*. He ſet out with a Retinue of 650 Perſons. The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſhed at the Magnificence of the Embaſſy, and the handſome Gentlemen: For it ſeems the Jeſuits reported our Nation to be ugly and like Devils, as a Puniſhment for caſting off the Pope.

So eaſy is it, ſays *Wilſon*, for thoſe Jugglers, when they have once bound up the Conſcience, to tie up the Underſtanding alſo.

Whilſt every Thing ſeem'd to concur to procure *James* a quiet and peaceable Reign, the Devil envying the Happineſs of the *Engliſh*, inſpired ſome of his Imps with one of the moſt horrible Plots that ever was heard of; I mean the Gunpowder-Treaſon-Plot, which has made ſo much Noiſe in the World.

Several of the Catholicks, of whom *Robert Cateſby* was the Chief, deviſed Means to deſtroy, in an Inſtant, almoſt all the

1605. principal Enemies of the Catholick Religion; and to throw the reſt of the Kingdom into ſuch a Conſternation, that not a Soul ſhould be able to take any proper Meaſures to oppoſe the Execution of their Projects. The Plot was, to blow up the Parliament-houſe whilſt the King ſhould be making his Speech from the Throne to the Lords and Commons aſſembled together in one Room. *Cateſby* being the Inventer of this Project, ſhewed them in what Manner it might be executed; and he met with a general Applauſe.

Nevertheleſs, as ſo deteſtable a Plot could not but breed Ideas frightful and naturally ſhocking to Conſcience, ſome of them moved to have the Juſtice of the Project examined by their Divines.

It is ſaid, that *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwald Teſmond*, and *John Gerard*, being conſulted, approved of the Plot as juſt and lawful, becauſe it was againſt excommunicated Hereticks. The Thing being determined, they took an Oath of Secrecy, adminiſtred by *Father Garnet*, as they called him.

Then *Percy*, being one of the Band of his Majeſty's Gentlemen Penſioners, was entruſted to hire a Houſe, which was parted from the Upper Houſe of Parliament only by a Wall. Theſe Things were tranſacted in *November* or *December* 1605; and the King was to make his Speech to the Parliament on the 7th of *February*. *Percy* having hired the Houſe, the Conſpirators began to dig

dig in the Cellar, in order to make a Hole in the Wall of the Partition, which was very thick, and gave them much Trouble; but as the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *October*, they had as much Time as they needed to finish their Work. 1605.

In the Beginning of *February* they had almost dug through the Wall, when, on a sudden, they heard a great Noise on the other Side. This put them in a great Fright; but one being sent to know the Occasion of it, they found the Noise came from a large Cellar under the Upper House of Parliament, out of which they were selling Coals.

As soon as the Coals were out, they found this Cellar was to be lett. Nothing could more fit their Purpose; so *Percy* went and hired the Cellar, and bought the Coals that were left. Then he sent for 36 Barrels of Powder from *Holland*, and, lodging them at *Lambeth*, on the other Side of the *Thames*, convey'd them in the Night into the Cellar, covered with Coals and Faggots.

All being in readiness, the Conspirators debated about what should be done, when the King, Prince *Henry*, his eldest Son, the Lords and Commons, should be buried in the Ruins of the Parliament-house. The Duke of *York*, the King's second Son, being yet very young, was not to be present at the Parliament; and the Princess *Elizabeth*, his Sister, was bred up at a House belonging to the Lord *Harrington*, in *Warwickshire*.

It

1605. It was resolved, therefore, that *Percy*, who had free Admittance into the King's Palace, should undertake to kill the Duke of *York*; and that some others, under colour of a Hunting-match, should meet together on the same Day near Lord *Harrington*'s House, and carry away the Princess *Elizabeth* by Force. As all this could not be effected without Money, *Tresham* offered 200 *l.* *Digby* 1500 *l.* and *Percy* 4000 *l.* Some moved the making sure before-hand of Foreign Aid; but the Motion was rejected. Then, after some Consultation, they agreed to save the Princess *Elizabeth*'s Life, and proclaim her Queen. They resolved to spread a Report after the Deed was done, that the Puritans were the Authors of it.

The Parliament being further prorogued to the 5th of *November*, the Conspirators expected the Day with the utmost Impatience: But God abhorring so detestable a Plot, inspired one of the Conspirators with a Desire to save the Life of the Lord *Monteagle*, Son of the Lord *Morley*. This Lord going Home about Seven in the Evening, one of his Servants gave him a Letter, which he had received from an unknown Person.

The Letter was without Name or Date; but advised him to excuse his Attendance at this Parliament; by which he would preserve his Life.

The Lord *Monteagle* could not imagine the Meaning of this Letter. He thought it only an Artifice to frighten him: However, he

he carried the Letter to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, Principal Secretary of State, who ſhewed it to the Privy Counſellors, who were all at a Loſs to know the Meaning. Then the Letter was read to the King. 1605.

One Sentence in the Letter was, "The "Danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt "this Letter." The King interpreted theſe Words, that the Danger would be over in as ſhort a Space as you ſhall take up in burning this Letter: and comparing this Sentence with what went before, namely, "That "they ſhould receive a terrible Blow this "Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who "hurt them;" he concluded, that ſome ſudden Blow was preparing by way of Gunpowder.

This Interpretation being deemed very plauſible, it was reſolved that all Rooms and Cellars adjoining the Parliament-houſe ſhould be ſearched.

The Earl of *Suffolk* went with ſome others to ſearch, the Day before the Meeting of the Parliament. When they came to the Cellar, they enquired what Uſe it was put to? It was anſwered, Mr *Percy* had hired it. When they enter'd it, they found Coals and Faggots; and perceiving a Man ſtanding in a Corner, aſked him who he was? He ſaid he was Servant to Mr *Percy*; and that the Coals and Wood were for his Winter Fuel.

This being reported to the King and Council, they thought if any Powder was concealed, it muſt be under theſe Faggots:

How-

1605. However, they reſolved not to go and ſearch under the Wood till Midnight, in Hopes to find in or about the Cellar ſome Perſon from whom they might receive ſome Information. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Gentleman of his Majeſty's Privy Chamber, going to the Cellar about Midnight, found a Man in a Cloak and Boots, whom he immediately apprehended. This was *Guy Fawkes*, who paſſed for *Percy*'s Servant, under the Name of *John Johnſon*. Then cauſing the Wood to be removed, they found 36 Barrels of Powder. After this Diſcovery, *Fawkes* being ſearched, they found about him a dark Lanthorn, a Tinder-box, and three Matches. The Villain, inſtead of being diſmay'd, boldly told them, that if it had been in his Power, he would have blown up himſelf and them together. The King order'd him to be examined; but he obſtinately refuſed all that Day to diſcover any of his Accomplices; but next Day, being ſhewed the Rack, he confeſſed all he knew.

Cateſby, *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Wright*, fled by ſeveral Ways to their Companions, who were to ſurprize the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; who, not fearing Succeſs, had already broke open a Stable, and carried away 12 Horſes. This Action had alarmed the Deputy-Lieutenant of the County, who had drawn together People to ſeize the Robbers: But their Companions coming up, and diſcovering what had happened, they endeavoured to make

make the Catholicks take up Arms, and to ſet themſelves at their Head; but all their Efforts ended only in raiſing about 100 Horſe. 1605.

The neighbouring Sheriffs joining in a Body, purſued them. They ſtopped at a Houſe in *Warwickſhire*, where the Sheriffs ſummoned them to ſurrender; but they refuſed. It happen'd, that in opening a Barrel of Powder to charge their Muſkets, it took Fire, and blew up Part of the Houſe.

This Accident conſtrained them to open the Gates, and try to make their Eſcapes. Several were killed on the Spot; the reſt were taken Priſoners, and ſent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent to the Tower, on Suſpicion of having a Hand in the Plot. The Suſpicion was grounded upon his being Captain of the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners, and admitting into it his Couſin *Percy*, without making him take the Oath. This Affair being afterwards brought into the Star-chamber, he was fined 30,000 *l.* deprived of his Poſts, and impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure.

The Parliament opened not till the 9th, tho' fixed to the 5th. The King made a long Speech, ſetting forth the Hemouſneſs of this horrible Plot, and magnifying the Mercy of God in the miraculous Diſcovery; but, withall, he took great Care to clear the Catholick Religion, and to obſerve, that this abominable Plot was to be aſcribed to ſuch only as were truly Papiſts. He affirmed, that

1606. that there were not many of thoſe; and that it would be extremely injurious to accuſe the Catholicks in general.

This Speech was mightily applauded by the Courtiers; but the reſt of the People were not of the ſame Mind. They conſidered, with Grief and Aſtoniſhment, the tender Regard the King expreſſed for the Catholicks in general, under colour of a Diſtinction. It can't be denied, that throughout the whole Courſe of his Reign, he ſhewed an extream Tenderneſs for the Roman Catholicks.

The Lords *Mordaunt* and *Sturton*, ſuſpected of having a Hand in the Plot, were fined, the one 10,000 Merks, the other 6000; tho' there was no Proof againſt them but their not coming to the Parliament. They were ſentenced by the Star-chamber, which was then the Terror of the Great Men; and which, for the leaſt Fault, condemned the Parties accuſed in exorbitant Fines to the King's Uſe.

The Diſcovery of the Powder-plot was univerſally aſcribed to the King's Penetration, who alone dived into the Meaning of the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*: Nay, ſome of his Flatterers did not ſcruple to ſay, he was aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt. The King, however, gave the Lord *Monteagle* 200*l.* a-year in Fee-farm Rents, and 500*l.* a-year more for his Life, as a Reward for being the firſt Diſcoverer.

All the Foreign Princes, as well Catholick

as

as Proteſtant, expreſſed their Abhorrence of ſo damnable a Deſign as this Plot, and congratulated the King on his Deliverance; tho', at the ſame Time, it was believed the King of *Spain* had a Hand in it. 1606.

The King appointed Commiſſioners to try ſuch of the Conſpirators as were apprehended; and eight were only executed, tho' the Number of the guilty were much greater.

This Parliament ſeriouſly ſet about preventing the Deſigns of the Popiſh Recuſants; that is, ſuch as refuſed to acknowledge the King's independent Authority. For the more eaſy Diſcovery of ſuch Perſons, the two Houſes agreed, and drew up an Oath, which all Subjects, without Exception, ſhould be obliged to take. This Oath was called *The Oath of Allegiance*, which is the ſame now uſed in effect.

The Parliament appointed the 5th of *November* to be a Publick Thankſgiving-day for ſo great a Deliverance, which has been kept ever ſince.

The Commons were ſo far from reviving the Diſpute which aroſe the firſt Parliament, that, to gain the King's Favour, they granted him the largeſt Subſidy which had ever been granted to any of his Predeceſſors, tho' he was in Peace with all the World. The whole amounted to 453,000 *l.*

This Money came ſeaſonably. The King of *Denmark* arrived ſhortly after, to pay a

1609. Visit to the Queen, his Sister, and the King. No Cost was spared on this Occasion.

Some Time after the Prince of *Vaudemont*, third Son of the Duke of *Lorrain*, also paid the King a Visit. Those two Entertainments swept away a great Part of the Money lately granted by the Parliament.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 20th of *November*, met again; and was chiefly employ'd in the Business of the Union, which the King strongly solicited. There arose a warm Debate; but the Parliament rejected all that could be said in its Favour. All the King could obtain, was the repealing of the Hostile Laws, which had been made from Time to Time, upon the frequent Invasions of the *Scots* on the Borders of *England*. This made the King out of Conceit with Parliaments; and, on the other hand, the People began to take a Dislike to him.

They could not see, without Grief, such a Number of Proclamations, which seemed to suppose, that the King's Will was the sole Rule and Measure of the Government. The King's needless Expences was another Cause of Complaint. These Things might have been of bad Consequence, had not the King prorogued the Parliament to the 19th of *February* 1610.

Before the Parliament was prorogued, the Country People in *Northamptonshire* rose up in Arms, under the Conduct of one *John Reynolds*, who gave himself the Name of *Cap-*

Captain Pouch: But the Sheriff of the County found Means to diſperſe them, without the Aid of any regular Troops. 1608.

The Earl of *Tyrone*, the famous *Iriſh* Rebel, attempted once more to ſtir up *Ireland* to rebel; but not ſucceeding, he left *Ireland*, taking along with him the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, whom he had drawn into his Plots. When he came to a Place of Safety, he gave out, that the Outrages committed in *Ireland* upon the Catholicks, had conſtrained him to forſake his Eſtate and Country: But the King briſkly repelled this Aſperſion, by a ſort of Apology which he publiſhed; not being able to bear, that the World ſhould think him a Perſecutor of the Catholicks.

Thomas Sackville, Earl of *Dorſet*, and Lord Treaſurer, died this Year; and *Robert Cecil*, Earl of *Saliſbury*, ſucceeded him. This Lord was of a great Genius; and, tho' crooked before and behind, Nature ſupplied that Defect with noble Endowments of Mind.

This Year the King ingroſſed to himſelf the ſelling of Allum, which had been lately found out in *England*; and prohibited the Importation of foreign Allum by Proclamation.

Archbiſhop *Bancroft* never ceaſed to plague the Puritans, in order to compel them to conform to the Church of *England*; which made great Numbers of them go and ſettle in *Virginia*, which was diſcovered in the late Reign by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

The

1609. The King licenſed two Books, which laid down the moſt extravagant Maxims of Arbitrary Power. The firſt, writ by one *Cowel*, contained theſe three Principles: 1ſt, That the King was not bound by the Laws, or his Coronation Oath: 2d, That the King was not obliged to call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it alone by his abſolute Power: 3d, That it was a Favour to admit the Conſent of the Subjects in giving Subſidies.

The other Book was compoſed by Dr *Blackwood*, and contained this Principle: That the *Engliſh* were all Slaves, by reaſon of the *Norman* Conqueſt.

The Parliament took this Affair to Heart, and would have ſeverely puniſhed the Authors: But the King fruſtrated their Deſigns by iſſuing out a Proclamation, forbidding the reading of theſe Books.

The King's Behaviour grew more and more diſpleaſing to the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh*. The Proclamations, which daily increaſed, and were ſeveral of them about Matters which former Kings were not wont to determine without the Concurrence of the Parliament; and the indiſcreet Speeches of the Courtiers, who made a Jeſt of the Peoples Privileges, bred Suſpicions and Jealouſies; which the King was not careful enough to ſtifle in their Birth.

On the other Hand, the great Regard the King ſhewed for the Roman Catholicks, by the great Acceſs and Credit they had at Court;

Court; and their being admitted into the most important Offices, and into the Miniſtry itſelf, made the People fear a Plot was forming againſt the Proteſtant Religion. 1610.

The Parliament being met, the King thought it neceſſary to make an Apology to them, to palliate his extravagant Expences ſince his coming to the Crown; but thinking it to be repugnant to the Dignity of a Sovereign, to make an Apology himſelf, he ordered the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Saliſbury* to do it for him.

The Earl of *Saliſbury* was the Spokeſman, and made a long Speech upon that Head; and alſo ſetting forth, that the King was ſo far from thinking to govern by an arbitrary Power, that he would always be ready to hearken to any Motion from the two Houſes, provided they ſhould keep to a juſt Proportion, and obſerve what is due to a great and gracious King.

This Speech had not the Effect the King and Miniſters expected; ſome of the Commons loudly complained of the King's Prodigality, and extravagant Bounty to the *Scots*. They ſaid, that Gold and Silver were as common in *Edinburgh* as Stones in the Streets; and that all the Riches of *England* flew thither, and never returned. Others ſaid, that the King was deſigned to eſtabliſh the Civil Laws of the *Roman* Emperors in the Room of the Common Law.

But what made the greateſt Stir in the Lower Houſe, was the High Commiſſion which

1610. which exerciſed in the Kingdom a kind of Inquiſition for Matters of Religion and State. It muſt be remember'd, that *Henry* VIII. was declared ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, and appointed *Cromwell* his Vicegerent in religious Affairs, and empowered him to exerciſe the Supremacy in his Name. After the tragical End of this firſt and only Vicegerent, this Office was executed by Commiſſioners. This is what was called *The High Commiſſion*.

As this Prince had a mortal Hatred to the Puritans, it was the High Commiſſion's Buſineſs to ſee his Proclamations againſt them executed, which was done with great Rigour; and even thoſe who were ſo bold as to cenſure the King's Conduct, and queſtion his unlimited Power, were looked upon as infected with Puritaniſm. There were at this Time two ſorts of Puritans, Church Puritans, and State Puritans; but the High Commiſſion affected to confound them one with another, in order to have Room to exerciſe Authority upon both. This was an Occaſion of the Complaint in the Houſe of Commons.

The King being informed of what was in Agitation in the Parliament, ſent for the two Houſes to *Whitehall*, and made them ſenſible, by ſome Expreſſions which plainly diſcovered his Sentiments, that if he did not rule with an abſolute Sway, it was not for want of Power, but entirely owing to his Equity. Then he made a long Speech to them, and

let

let them know, that to take away the Commiſſion, was to derogate from him. Then he ſhewed to them the emergent Cauſe of his great Expences, and deſired a Supply from them. 1610.

The Commons perceived what the King had in his Thoughts, and reſolved ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe his Deſigns; but it was no proper Seaſon now to begin: They made, therefore, as if they took no Notice of the Maxims the King would have eſtabliſhed concerning arbitrary Power; but granted a Subſidy, tho' a much ſmaller than he expected. This done, the Parliament was prorogued.

Before the End of the Seſſions, the King created *Henry*, his eldeſt Son, Prince of *Wales*, and ſettled his Houſhold, and kept his Court at St *James*'s. The Queen kept hers at *Somerſet* Houſe. Thus the King had three Courts to maintain, which put him to a great Expence.

The Prince had a quite different Character from that of his Father. Tho' he was but 16, there appeared in him Principles of Equity, Juſtice, Moderation, Magnanimity; which gained him the Love and Eſteem of the *Engliſh*. No Extravagancies or Indecencies appeared in his Court, except, perhaps, the too frequent Maſquerades which were then much in vogue, becauſe the Queen was paſſionately fond of them.

Henry IV. was this Year aſſaſſinated by *Ra-*

1610. *Ravillac*, a Fryar, in his own Coach, in the Midſt of *Paris*.

The Murderer confeſſed he did it, becauſe the King did not take up Arms againſt the *Hugonots*: For, ſays he, to make War againſt the Pope, is the ſame Thing as making War againſt God; ſeeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope.

King *James* and all the World believed the Jeſuits had a great Hand in it: Therefore, he commanded all Jeſuits to depart the Kingdom, and all Recuſants not to come within 10 Miles of the Court; and then cauſed all his Subjects to take the Oath of Allegiance.

Richard Bancroft, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and grand Adverſay to the Puritans, died this Year. He had procured the King's Patent to found a College at *Chelſea*, for the Maintenance of a certain Number of able Controverſiſts, who were to combat with the Sermons and Writings of the Puritans and Papiſts; but his Death put an End to the Project. *George Abbot*, who ſucceeded him, was of a quite different Temper: He was even ſuſpected and accuſed of being a Puritan, becauſe he would not, like his Predeceſſor, perſecute that Sect.

The Commons were not of a Temper at all pleaſing to the King; therefore he diſſolved the Parliament. From the Time of its Diſſolution, to the Year 1614, it was the Miniſtry's Buſineſs to deviſe Ways and Means to ſupply the King's Wants.

The

The King being freed from the Trouble the Parliament created him, and reſolving never to call another, the Courtiers applauded his Deſign very much, an abſolute Government being much more for their Benefit. 1611.

The *Engliſh* and *Scots* each ſtrove which ſhould furniſh the King with a young Perſon to be his Favourite; but none was found out till this Year a young *Scots* Gentleman, *Robert Carr*, became much in Favour with the King.

He was a Perſon without Learning, unexperienced, plain and ſimple. This ſuited the King, who wanted one without Knowledge either of the World or at Court. At firſt the King made him Knight and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and took the Pains himſelf to teach him *Latin*. He ſoon became a perfect Favourite. All Suits and Petitions were addreſſed to him, and no Favours granted but by his Means.

The Earl of *Dunbar* dying this Year, *Carr* ſucceeded in his Poſt of Treaſurer of *Scotland*.

The King's Fondneſs for his new Favourite increaſed by ſwift Degrees. He was created Baron of *Branſpeth*, and Viſcount *Rocheſter*. A Month after, he made him Privy-Counſellor; then Knight of the Garter. Nothing was done at Court, but what paſſed through his Hands.

All Hiſtorians agree, that the King was liberal beyond Meaſure in his Preſents to this

1611. Favourite, as if he had been poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible Fountain of Treaſure; one Day the King having given him an Order under his Hand to receive 20,000 *l.* out of the Exchequer.

The Lord Treaſurer *Saliſbury*, who did not care to ſee himſelf overtopped by this new Comer; and being ſurprized at the Largeneſs of the Preſent, and conſidering how little Money there was in the Treaſury, uſed this Stratagem.

He invited the King to an Entertainment at his Houſe, and took Care that the King was to paſs, as it were by Accident, through a Room where he had laid the 20,000 *l.* in Silver, in four Heaps, upon four Tables.

The King failed not to aſk, as the Lord Treaſurer foreſaw, who all that Money was deſigned for? To which *Saliſbury* careleſly anſwered, it was for *Rocheſter*, according to his Majeſty's Command. Whether the King perceived his Drift, or had not conſidered what he did when he made the Preſent, he ſaid, it was too much for one Man, and bid the Treaſurer give him but 2000 *l.*

It is agreed on all Hands, that *Carr* behaved very wiſely in his Poſt of Favourite. He was neither greedy nor inſolent: He did every Body what Service he could; and eſpecially the *Engliſh*, whoſe Friendſhip he preferred before that of his Countrymen.

The Prince of *Wales* alone affected ſometimes to mortify him, becauſe they were both in Love with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, who gave

gave the Preference to the Favourite. The Prince did not ſeek to be revenged of him; but turned into Contempt his Love for the Lady. 1612.

Except this Amour, which proved his Ruin, the Favourite carried himſelf very prudently, being guided by the Counſels of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a Man of Parts and great Wiſdom.

Rocheſter, by the King's great Bounty, was now become rich and powerful; and, what was beſtowed upon other Courtiers, and the keeping of three Courts, threw the King perpetually into Straits. His Miniſters were inceſſantly at work to deviſe Means to raiſe Money, without the Help of the Parliament; of which he would not hear the leaſt Word: and the raiſing of Money by Monopolies, Benevolences, and Loans, occaſioned Murmurings amongſt the People; who foreſaw the King intended to incroach upon their Privileges.

The King, to his great Misfortune, loſt this Year the Earl of *Saliſbury*; who was a Perſon of great Genius, and perfectly acquainted with State Affairs, and was a Check to the reſt of the Miniſters. After his Death, the Earl of *Suffolk* ſucceeded as Lord Treaſurer, but was very different both for Parts and Honeſty; beſides, he had a Wife who was very greedy of Money, and made no Scruple to take Bribes from all Parties.

This Year died the Prince of *Wales*, in the 18th Year of his Age. All Hiſtorians give him

1613. him the Character of a ſober, chaſte, temperate, and religious Prince. He was never heard to ſwear an Oath; tho' the Example of the King, his Father, and of the whole Court, might have corrupted him, had he not been very circumſpect.

Frederick V. Elector Palatine, was this Year married to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, the King's eldeſt Daughter. The Magnificence of this Marriage coſt a large Sum of Money. The King demanded Aid-money of his Subjects, according to the ancient Cuſtom obſerved when the Kings married their eldeſt Daughter; tho' it was now 100 Years ſince this Cuſtom had been uſed. This raiſed 20,500 *l.* but the Marriage coſt four Times that Sum.

By the Departure of the Elector and Electoreſs, the Court became a little more quiet; but a private Scene was acting, the Plots whereof began to open this Year.

As I have obſerved, *Robert Cecil* was a mortal Enemy to the late Earl of *Eſſex*, and one of the chief Inſtruments of his Ruin: But *Cecil*, fearing he might ſome Time be a Thorn in his Foot, thought to make Matters up by an affinitive Kindred; and *Cecil* alſo, in order to keep in with the King's Favour, judged it proper to unite with the Family of *Howards*: So *Cecil* matched his eldeſt Son with the eldeſt Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*; and got the young Earl of *Eſſex*, who had his Eſtate and Honours reſtored, married to *Suffolk*'s ſecond Daughter.

Thus

Thus the King alſo ſaw in Union the three Families he had the greateſt Liking for; namely, *Howard*'s, *Devereux*'s, and *Cecil*'s: But *Eſſex* being then but in his 15th, and *Frances Howard*, his Bride, in her 13th Year, their Relations thought fit the Earl ſhould travel into *France* and *Germany*, till more advanced in Years. During his Abſence, his Counteſs became a perfect Beauty, and eclipſed all the reſt of the Court Ladies. 1613.

The Earl returned into *England* in 1610, and found his Counteſs in the Prime of her Age and Beauty; but, withall, highly conceited of her own Worth, by reaſon of the Praiſes beſtowed on her by all the World. He was himſelf charmed with her Merit; but met not with that Return he expected.

She daily coined new Excuſes to put off the Conſummation of the Marriage, and ſhewed as much Reluctancy as he did Eagerneſs on that Score. He bore it patiently for a While, being unwilling to uſe Compulſion, for fear of giving his Bride an Averſion to him. Shortly after he fell into the Small Pox, but after ſome Time recovered.

It was in this Year that *Robert Carr* became the King's Favourite. When he won his Maſter's Heart, he made a Conqueſt almoſt at the ſame Time of the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s; tho' ſhe had not yet diſcovered her Paſſion for the young *Scot* to any Body, not even to himſelf.

Eſſex being ſtill impatient, had Recourſe at laſt to the Earl of *Suffolk*, his Father-in-law;

1613. law; and intreated him to uſe his Endeavours to overcome his Daughter's Obſtinacy.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, ſurprized at his Daughter, ſharply reprimanded her, and told her ſhe muſt conſummate the Marriage. The Counteſs, not daring to diſobey her Father, only requeſted a little longer Time.

She thought nothing but of getting her Marriage annulled; not fearing but ſoon to make a Conqueſt of *Rocheſter*, who yet knew nothing of the Matter.

However, being at a Strait how to manage, ſhe opened her Mind to one Mrs *Turner*, a Phyſician's Widow; a Woman of a diſſolute Life, and capable of the baſeſt Actions. She adviſed her to apply to one Dr *Foreman*, who paſſed for a Magician.

The Counteſs immediately applied to him, and requeſted two Things. Firſt, to manage it ſo, that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould not be able to conſummate his Marriage. Secondly, to make the Viſcount *Rocheſter* in Love with her. *Foreman* very confidently promiſed both, and gave her certain Powders for her Huſband to take, and to put amongſt his Linen, with Inſtructions how ſhe ſhould behave to him. As for *Rocheſter*, he himſelf undertook to perform upon him the Operations that were neceſſary.

Mean while, the Counteſs could no longer diſobey her Father's Commands, ſo was forced to go Home to her Huſband's Houſe: But altho' they lay together, the Marriage was

was not conſummated, whether it was owing to *Foreman*'s Powders, or ſome other more effectual Means uſed by the Counteſs, to render her Huſband's Efforts of no Effect: However this may be, the Earl imagined, that his living in *London* and at Court might contribute to his Misfortune; and therefore reſolved to carry his Lady to a Country Seat, about 100 Miles from *London*. 1613.

The Counteſs could not help going with her Lord: But all the While ſhe was there, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in a Room, giving herſelf over to an exceſſive Melancholy, either out of Vexation or Policy, the better to deny her Huſband. In the mean while ſhe wrote ſeveral Letters to Mrs *Turner* and *Foreman*, telling them, "She was afraid "*Foreman*'s Powders were not ſtrong e-"nough: Her Huſband was as luſty as "ever: It would be very difficult for her to "hold out for ever; and if ſhe ſhould "chance to yield, ſhe ſhould become the "moſt unfortunate Woman in the World. "She intreated them to free her from her "Miſery, and they ſhould have what Mo-"ney they deſired." Theſe Letters were found in *Foreman*'s Study, and read in open Court, upon an Occaſion I ſhall mention preſently.

At laſt the Earl, ſeeing himſelf in ſo uneaſy a Situation, carried her back to *London*, and gave her full Leave to live as ſhe pleaſed.

The

1613. The Counteſs being returned to Court, no longer delay'd to let *Rocheſter* know what ſhe endured for his ſake. There was no occaſion to uſe Magick to produce the Effect ſhe promiſed herſelf. At the firſt he was ſo inflamed, that nothing could exceed.

The two Lovers ſoon uſed ſo little Caution, that not a Tool at Court was a Stranger to their Amours. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had Notice of the Buſineſs, choſe to ſhut his Eyes, and ſcorn an Object ſo unworthy of his Love.

The Counteſs of *Eſſex* having ſucceeded in her intended Conqueſt, her Lover and ſhe conſidered Means how to get her Marriage annulled; and *Rocheſter* acquainted his Friend *Overbury* with the Affair, deſiring his Aſſiſtance in bringing it about.

But *Overbury* did not at all approve of the Project, and did all he could to diſſuade *Rocheſter* from it; repreſenting to him the Injuſtice and Indignity of the Thing, and the Riſk he would run, of being ruined by a Deed of that Nature.

The Counteſs fell into a violent Fury when ſhe heard of *Overbury*'s Advice; and, from that Moment, ceaſed not to ſtir up her Lover to Revenge.

Rocheſter thereupon immediately conſulted the Earl of *Northampton*, Uncle to the Counteſs of *Eſſex*; and, by his Advice, uſed this Stratagem to ruin him.

He extolled to the King *Overbury*'s Abilities; but intimated withall, that he had taken

taken too much upon him, and was grown so inſolent, that there was no bearing him; ſo prayed his Majeſty to ſend him Ambaſſador to the Great Duke of *Ruſſia*. The King liking the Propoſal, appointed *Overbury* immediately for the Embaſſy. 1613.

Rocheſter having managed Matters thus far, acquainted *Overbury* with the King's Intent; and, pretending he could not live without him, intreated him to refuſe the Employment, promiſing to procure him a better at Court. He added, that he believed it would not be in his Power to hinder the King from being angry at firſt; however, he did not queſtion but to be able to appeaſe him in a few Days.

Overbury fell into the Snare; and when the King ſent for him, to let him know the Employment he deſigned him, he moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to make Choice of ſome other Perſon.

As ſoon as he was gone, *Rocheſter* aggravated his Pride and Inſolence, in daring thus to refuſe his Maſter's gracious Offer; adding, it was requiſite to chaſtiſe him.

In a word, by *Rocheſter*'s Inſtances, the King commanded *Overbury* to be ſent to the Tower. Some Days before, the Favourite had cauſed Sir *Jervaſe Elways*, a Creature of his, to be made Lieutenant of the Tower.

Rocheſter and the Counteſs having thus got their Ends about, they reſolved to make Uſe of Poiſon to diſpatch *Overbury* out of the Way.

1613. One *Weſton* was made Uſe of for this Purpoſe, who was to wait on *Overbury* as Footman; and Victuals were ſent by *Rocheſter* from Time to Time to the Priſoner: but the Lieutenant took Care to ſeize them, and throw them into the Houſe of Office. *Weſton*, however, at laſt, gave him a certain Jelly, which brought him to Death's Door: Whereupon the Lieutenant ordered it ſo, that none ſhould ſee him but *Weſton*; which was a Check upon him, becauſe he perceived none could be accuſed but himſelf.

Whilſt the unfortunate Priſoner languiſhed in his Confinement, *Rocheſter* and the Counteſs were executing their Project to get the Marriage annulled; and a Petition was preſented to the King for that Purpoſe.

It contained, that the Earl, her Huſband, being incapable to conſummate their Marriage, beſought his Majeſty to have her Complaint examined.

Upon this the King iſſued out a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop, ſeveral other Biſhops, and ſome Laymen, to hear and determine the Affair.

This Court proceeded very gravely to the Trial of the Cauſe, and enter'd into ſuch ſuch ſecret Examinations as did not very well become Clergymen. The Earl of *Eſſex* being examined, briefly anſwered, he had never conſummated the Marriage; neither did he think he ſhould ever be able to do ſo: but, however, did not feel the ſame Inability with regard to other Women.

The

The Counteſs was ordered to be inſpected by a Jury of Matrons, aſſiſted by ſome Mid-wives. This Inſpection being made, ſhe was declared a Virgin: But it is ſaid the Counteſs, under Pretence of Modeſty, got Leave to appear in a Veil before the Matrons; and that Mrs *Fiennes*, a young Gentlewoman of her Age and Stature, was introduced in her Place. I omit a thouſand Circumſtances of this Trial. In a word, the Marriage was diſſolved, tho' the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*, were againſt it, and the firſt publiſhed his Reaſons: But the King took the Pains to anſwer the Archbiſhop's Arguments, and to maintain the Juſtice of the Sentence. This Buſineſs made a great Noiſe, and brought but little Honour to the Judges. Moſt of them could not be ignorant of the Counteſs's ill Character. 1614.

Immediately after the Diſſolution of the Marriage, *Rocheſter* made publickly his Addreſſes to the Counteſs, and they were married within a Month. The King not only gave the Favourite Leave to marry her, but made him alſo Earl of *Somerſet*; and there were great Rejoicings at Court on this Occaſion.

Overbury was ſtill in a miſerable Condition, by reaſon of the Poiſon given him; But the two Lovers being impatient to ſee a Perſon live ſo long, who might one Day be their Ruin, cauſed an impoiſoned Gliſter to be given him by one *Franklin*, an Apothecary's Ap-

1614. Apprentice; which ended his Miſeries with his Life.

The Earl of *Somerſet* found himſelf much incumber'd with the Management of Affairs, ſince he was no longer aſſiſted by that faithful Counſellor *Overbury*; whoſe ſole View was to procure his Friend Honour and Glory.

However, he made Uſe of the Earl of *Northampton* for his Friend, whoſe chief Aim was to make Uſe of his Credit to countenance the Roman Catholicks; and as *Northampton* was Warden of the Cinque-ports, he managed ſo, that the Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts might ſafely land there, without being examined. By this Means their Number increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that the People loudly murmured at it, and caſt the Blame on *Northampton*: Whereupon he took out a Writ of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt ſome of them. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* produced a Letter, under *Northampton*'s own Hand, written to Cardinal *Bellarmine*; wherein he ſaid, "That he was compelled to be a Proteſtant in Show, nevertheleſs his Heart ſtood for the Catholicks; and he would be ever ready to countenance them to the utmoſt of his Power." Upon this Letter the Parties accuſed were diſcharged; and the King reproached the Earl in ſuch a Manner, as obliged him to withdraw to his Country Houſe, where he died ſoon after.

The Court was not ſo well affected to the Pu-

Puritans, as to the Papiſts. This Year ſe- 1614.
veral Families went over to ſettle in *New-England*, in order to enjoy there that Peace which they could not find at Home.

It was now four Years ſince the King called a Parliament. He liked it much better to act abſolutely, and without Controul. He was forced continually to invent new Methods to raiſe Money, which cauſed great Murmurings amongſt the People; for his Extravagancies were without Bounds. The following Inſtance of his Bounty may ſerve to ſhew his Character.

Being one Day in the Gallery at *Whitehall*, and no Body with him but Sir *Henry Rich* and *James Maxwell*, ſome Porters paſſed by with 3000 *l.* going to the Privy Purſe. *Rich* ſeeing the Money, turned to *Maxwell*, and whiſpered. The King perceiving it, aſked what he ſaid? *Maxwell* told him, *Rich* ſhould think himſelf very happy, if he had ſuch a Sum. Whereupon the King called to the Porters, and ordered them to carry the Money to *Rich*'s Lodgings; ſaying, at the ſame Time, "You think now you have "a great Purchaſe; but I am more delighted "in giving you the Money, than you can "be in receiving it."

If the King had been thus laviſh out of his Savings, his Generoſity would have been more commendable; but his Profuſeneſs to a few private Perſons gained the Ill-will of all the reſt of the Nation; and he was forced to put in Practice extraordinary Methods to raiſe

1614. raiſe Money, which were looked upon as ſo many Grievances.

The King's exceſſive Liberality reducing him continually to Straits, he had, at length, Recourſe to a Project formed by the late Earl of *Saliſbury*. This was to create Baronets, which was to be hereditary to them and their Heirs for ever. Their Number was not to exceed 200; and each was to pay 1095 *l.* to the King for being admitted to this Honour. The King, at the firſt Promotion, made 100 only.

Another Method to raiſe Money was, to grant Monopolies to private Perſons, excluſive of all others; and he raiſed great Sums by theſe ſorts of Favours. Alſo he iſſued out Commiſſions for reviving obſolete Laws, for making Men who had 40 *l.* a-year compound for not being knighted: for formerly Eſtates of 40 *l.* a-year were conſiderable; and the Owners of ſuch Eſtates were deemed proper to be made Knights. There were Thouſands who had more; but not caring to be Knights, choſe rather to give the King Money.

The King made alſo a certain Number of Knights of *Nova Scotia*, each of which paid him ſuch a Sum. He received for making a Baron 10,000 *l.* for a Viſcount 15,000 *l.* and for an Earl 20,000 *l.* Thus, whoever had Money enough, might be made a Peer of the Realm.

The ſame Honours were rated in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, tho' at a lower Price. Likewiſe

wiſe thoſe who had defective Titles, were obliged to compound with the King for ſetting them to Rights, otherwiſe they were declared null and void. Alſo the Star-chamber condemned in exceſſive Fines, to the King's Uſe, ſuch as were cited thither. And by all theſe, and ſome other Methods, the King raiſed great Sums, without applying to the Parliament. 1614.

But all theſe Methods not anſwering his Expences, at laſt it was thought proper to have Recourſe to the Parliament.

The Earl of *Somerſet* put the King in Hopes, that he and the Lord Treaſurer, his Father-in-law, would order Matters ſo, that the Majority of the Commons ſhould be at the King's Devotion; ſo he was prevailed upon to call a Parliament.

The Parliament, however, conſiſted not of ſuch Members as the King was made to expect. The People, who were diſcontented, choſe Repreſentatives of a quite different Character.

At the firſt Meeting the King demanded a Sum of Money for the Marriage of his Daughter: But the Commons thought proper firſt to enquire into the Grievances of the Nation; and they fell upon examining to what Uſes the Revenues of the Crown had been put. The Reſult was, that the King had beſtowed on the *Scots* exceſſive Gifts, both in Land and Money; and that the *Scots*, having ſold theſe Lands to the *Engliſh*, convey'd the Money into *Scotland*.

Then

1614. Then the Houſe enquired into the Cauſes of the Increaſe of Popiſh Recuſants; and alſo enquired into the Authority of the Monopolies, which were looked upon as a great Prejudice to Trade; and ſeveral other Grievances they took into their Conſideration.

The King not having Patience with the Parliament's Procedure in theſe things, diſſolved them, after they had ſit two Months; and afterwards ſent ſeveral of the Members, who had ſpoken the moſt freely, to Priſon, without admitting them to Bail. This (ſays *Coke*) was the greateſt Violation of the Privilege of Parliament that ever was done by any King of *England* before.

The King being diſappointed in raiſing Money by the Parliament, was forced to have Recourſe to new Methods: For, beſides his own Extravagances, the Marriage of the Electreſs, his Daughter, coſt him near 100,000 *l.*

The Court pitched upon the Method formerly uſed to raiſe Money by way of Benevolence; and all Sheriffs were ordered to aſk of all private Perſons within their Diſtrict, a free Gift in proportion to the King's Wants: at the ſame Time they were to return to the Council the Names of ſuch as refuſed to contribute according to their Abilities. This is a clear Evidence, that the King did not mean, that the Benevolence ſhould be entirely voluntary. This raiſed the King but about 52,909 *l.*

The Queen finding, that the Favourite had

had been wanting in his Reſpect to her, conceived a violent Animoſity againſt him, and ſought his Ruin; and, for this Purpoſe, ſhe gained Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, to be aiding in the Deſign. 1615.

This Year *Hugh Middleton* undertook the ſupplying *London* with Water by Elm Pipes, as is now uſed.

One *George Villiers*, a Man of good Mein, and fine Shape, was placed before the King at a Play by ſome Lords, in Hopes that he might take a Fancy to him, and ſo ſupplant the Earl of *Somerſet*.

Villiers was of an ancient Family, Son of Sir *George Villiers*; and the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Bedford*, and ſome other Lords who were Enemies to the Favourite, fitted him out with Cloaths, in order to attract the King's Eyes.

The King was ſo taken with him, that he reſolved to have him nigh his Perſon: But as he was afraid of *Somerſet*'s ſuſpecting him, he privately cauſed *Villiers* to purchaſe a Cup-bearer's Place, and to be inſtructed how he ſhould behave.

Somerſet had, ever ſince *Overbury*'s Death, become more ſullen and melancholy, and did not ſuit the King's Temper as uſual; and *Villiers* gained Ground every Day in the King's Favour: But he having fixed a Reſolution to receive no Favourite, unleſs of the Queen's recommending, ſhe, at laſt, by the late Favourite's Enemies, was prevailed

1615. upon to recommend *Villiers*, tho' ſhe could ſee nothing in him that merited it.

The King, upon this, directly made him Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, knighted him, and gave him 1000 *l.* *Somerſet* ſolicited greatly, that he might only be made Groom, but the King would not hear him.

Villiers being thus advanced, ſeveral of the Courtiers careſſed him, thinking he would ſoon be the Man: But as the King ſtill outwardly continued his Eſteem for *Somerſet*, ſeveral of the Courtiers ſtill kept firm to him. By this, two Parties were formed at Court.

The Earl of *Somerſet*, however, ſeeing he daily declined in Favour, before all Things, thought of ſcreening himſelf from the Danger which he might be expoſed to by *Overbury*'s Murder: Therefore, ſpying a favourable Opportunity, he caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, and repreſented to him, that having ſerved him ſome Years in a very ſlippery Poſt, it was a difficult Matter not to fall into ſome Miſcarriages; and therefore beſought him to grant him a general Pardon, which might ſecure him from the Malice of his Enemies.

The King readily conſented, and the Pardon was drawn up; but either by Ignorance or Malice of the Perſon that drew up the Inſtrument, the King was made to ſay in it, That he pardoned, not only all Manner of Treaſons, Murders, Felonies, and Outrages whatſover, already committed; but

but alſo thoſe which ſhould be hereafter committed by the Earl of *Somerſet*. 1615.

The King ſigned it without Scruple; but the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* refuſed to put the Seal to it, ſaying, As there had never been an Inſtance of ſuch a Pardon, he ſhould incur a Præmunire if he paſſed it.

This Reaſon being allowed, and the King being juſt going to take his Summer's Progreſs into the Country, as uſual, the Matter reſted here, and the Pardon was not compleated.

The King being perpetually teazed with the Conteſts of the two Favourites and their Adherents, at his Return thought of an Expedient to reconcile them; and *Villiers* was to make the firſt Step, and deſire the Earl of *Somerſet*'s Favour and Protection; which he did: But *Somerſet* denied him either Favour or Protection, and intimated that he would ruin him if he could. This exaſperated the King to that Degree, that from that Moment he reſolved to get rid of him.

The King, who had got ſome Intimation of *Overbury*'s Murder, ſent a Meſſenger to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, to apprehend *Somerſet* and his Counteſs, with *Franklin*, *Weſton*, Mrs *Turner*, and Sir *Jervaſe Elwes*, Lieutenant of the Tower.

Somerſet was with the King when the Meſſenger came, and the King had his Hand about his Neck, ſaying to him, in an affectionate Manner, *When ſhall I ſee thee again*

1615. *again*, Somerſet? The King being then at *Royſton*, went ſoon after for *London*.

When the Meſſenger came in and ſeized *Somerſet*, the King feigning he knew nothing of the Matter, ſaid, *Who is it that dares to arreſt a Peer of the Realm in my Preſence?* But being told he had the Lord Chief Juſtice's Warrant, ſays the King to him, jeſting, *Nay, Man, there's no Remedy; for if* Coke *ſends for me, I muſt go too.* This was a ſtrange Piece of Diſſimulation; but he took Delight in Things of this Nature.

Coke, ſoon after they were all ſent to Priſon, came to the King, who gave him ſtrict Orders to enquire into the Truth of the Matter, and not to ſpare the Guilty. The Parties were all tried, found guilty, and condemned.

One *Simon Maſon*, who had been employed to carry a poiſoned Tart to *Overbury*, was alſo tried; and the Judge ſaid to him upon his Trial, Simon, *thou hadſt a Hand alſo in this poiſoning Buſineſs. No, my good Lord*, (anſwered *Simon*) *I had but one Finger in it, and it coſt me all my Hair and Nails.*

He had, out of Liquoriſhneſs, when he was carrying it, put in his Finger and taſted it; which had the mentioned Effect: And this ingenious Anſwer cauſed him to be acquitted; for it was thought, if he had known of its being Poiſon, he would not have taſted.

The Guilty were executed, except the Earl of *Somerſet*, and his Counteſs; they were reprieved from Time to Time till the Year

Year 1621, when they had Liberty to go and live at a Country Seat. At last, in 1624, a Pardon was granted them: But their Love, which brought them to commit such abominable Deeds, turned at last into Hatred. They lived many Years together in one House as Strangers to one another; and, at last, the Countess died of an uncommon Disease. 1616.

Villiers was now become the sole Favourite at Court, and behaved much after the same Manner as his Predecessor had done. At first he was guided by the Advice of such as he thought wiser than himself: But in Time he looked upon himself as the most able Person in the Kingdom.

His first Care was, to dismiss the Earl of *Somerset*'s Creatures, and confer the Places on his own Relations and Friends. Nothing else of Moment was transacted at Court for some Years, except the keeping up the Prerogative Royal, and the Method of raising Money without the Parliament.

A sharp Dispute happened between the King and the Judges: The King designing to give, *in Commendam*, a vacant Church; that is, when a Parson or Vicar is made a Bishop, there is a Cession of his Benefice by the Promotion: But if the King gives him Power to retain his Benefice, he is said to hold it *in Commendam*.

It was disputed in the Court of Common Pleas, not only whether the King might give a Commendam to a Bishop either before

1616 fore or after his Conſecration, but alſo whether Commendams were to be granted without Neceſſity.

The Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas finding the Caſe difficult, deſired it to be argued by all the Judges; and they decided it againſt the King.

The King ſent for all the Judges to the Council Table, and reprimanded them ſeverely; which terrified them ſo, that they rather choſe to give way, than reſiſt him to his Face: and the Judges being withdrawn, the Council unanimouſly determined it in the King's Favour.

It was not long after before *Coke* felt the Effects of the King's Wrath. He having determined a Cauſe at Common Law, the Plaintiffs thinking themſelves injured, brought the Buſineſs into Chancery. The Defendants refuſed to obey the Orders of that Court, for which they were ſent to Priſon. The Defendants petitioned in the Star-chamber, and *Coke* backed them; but was worſted in the Diſpute. The King hereupon turned *Coke* out of his Office. He was well verſed in the Common Laws of *England*, of which he wrote a Book highly eſteemed, and every Day cited in the Courts of Juſtice, and in Parliament.

The Lord Chancellor died ſoon after, and Sir *Francis Bacon* was made Lord Chancellor. He was a Man of great Abilities, as appears by ſome of his Works; but a ſervile

vile Flatterer, cringing to thoſe in Favour, but haughty to ſuch as he ſtood not Need of. 1616.

Prince *Charles*, the King's only Son, was this Year created Prince of *Wales*. There was never a Proteſtant Prince of Royal Extraction in *Europe* who had a Daughter fit for him; and the King could not endure to marry him under that Degree; ſo choſe rather to ſeek him a Wife in a Houſe, ſworn Enemy to the Proteſtant Religion: which may be conſidered as the Source of the reſt of the Occurrences of this Reign, and of all the Vexations *James* had to endure at Home and Abroad.

The States of *Holland* were indebted to *Elizabeth*, and now conſequently to *James*, 8,000,000 of Florins, and 18 Years Intereſt, for which the cautionary Towns were a Security. The States finding the King's great Neceſſity, and knowing he durſt not call a Parliament to raiſe him Money, made Uſe of this Juncture, and got the Towns delivered on Payment of 2,728,000 Florins, which the Courtiers had already devoured in their Thoughts.

Great Fault was found with this Treaty, which was ſo diſadvantageous to *England*; and even the Money vaniſhed, without any of the King's Debts being paid: And tho' the Pretence of treating with the States was in order to pay his Army in *Ireland*, which had not received One Penny for ſeveral Years; yet no Part was applied to that Uſe.

At length it was diſcovered, that the Lord Trea-

1617. Treaſurer *Suffolk* had converted to his own Uſe great Part of the Money received from the *Hollanders*; for which he was condemned and fined 30,000 *l.* and to be impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure.

The Earl of *Suffolk* was not the only Sacrifice to *Villiers*'s Policy; who, by Degrees, got rid of all *Somerſet*'s Creatures, and his own Friends placed in their Rooms.

The King took occaſion, in a ſolemn Aſſembly held in the Star-chamber, to make a long Speech concerning the Prerogative of Sovereigns, thinking to convince the People of the Truth of his Principles in this reſpect. Soon after *Villiers* was made Earl of *Buckingham*.

I have mentioned the King's Averſion to the Puritans; but the Church of *Scotland* was ſtill Preſbyterian, to his great Mortification. Indeed Epiſcopacy was not entirely ſuppreſſed in that Kingdom; but it was at ſo low an Ebb, that the Biſhops had no Manner of Juriſdiction. *James*, however, reſolved, by Degrees, to compel the *Scots* to a Conformity to the Church of *England*; and, for that Purpoſe, he ſent ſome Articles, which they were to obſerve. 1. That the Communion ſhould be received kneeling. 2. That the Euchariſt ſhould not be denied to the Sick. 3. That *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, *Aſcenſion-day*, and *Whitſunday*, ſhould be kept as Holidays. 4. That Confirmation ſhould be practiſed when Children were ſeven or eight Years old.

The

The General Assembly of the *Scots* Church declared, there was no Necessity of inserting these Articles among the Canons. The King, offended at this, and being persuaded he had a Right, by virtue of his Royal Authority, to impose upon the People of *Scotland*, the Religion which to him seemed the best, he resolved to go in Person, and oblige a Compliance. 1617.

The King being come to *Berwick*, prorogued the Parliament of *Scotland*, that he might open it himself; which he did with a long Speech, according to Custom. He contented himself, at first, with requiring, that such a Number of Commissioners should be appointed to examine and settle the Affairs of Religion. The Parliament consenting to his Demand, the King appointed the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Clerk of the Rolls, who were all his Creatures.

The Parliament scrupled to stand to this Nomination, which put him in a great Passion. In short, as they durst not resist him to his Face, he obtained whatever he had a-mind to.

These Commissioners settled out of hand an Article; after which there was no more to be examined. It was, that whatsoever should be concluded by the King and the Bishops in Matters of external Policy, should be an ecclesiastical Law. The King himself dictated this Article.

The Ministers in and about *Edinburgh*

1617. drew up a Proteſtation againſt this Article, and ſent it to the King.

The King, upon this, ſummoned all the Miniſters; and, with a magiſterial and ſtern Countenance, made a Speech to them, which made them all fall down on their Knees. He gave them to underſtand, that, by virtue of the Prerogative which Chriſtian Kings have to order and diſpoſe external Things in the outward Policy of the Church, what he enjoined ſhould not be oppoſed.

The Miniſters ſeeing how peremptory the King was, petitioned for a General Aſſembly to conſult upon the Affair, which the King agreed to. Afterwards he committed *Simſon*, the Miniſter who drew up and ſigned the Proteſtation, to *Edinburgh* Caſtle; and then returned to *England*.

The General Aſſembly reſolved to defer the admitting of the four Articles, till ſuch Time as all the Churches of the Kingdom were informed of the Matter, and ſo broke up. The Aſſembly being again met, the King, by fair or foul Means, obtained the Church's Conſent to the four Articles; but, withall, he ſowed in *Scotland* the Seeds of thoſe Troubles which diſtracted the Kingdom in the following Reign, and deprived the King, his Son and Succeſſor, both of Crown and Life. Thus his Zeal againſt the Puritans cauſed him to caſt off the Principles of Equity and Moderation, which he thought ſo reaſonable in the Caſe of the Catholicks, that he would not force their Conſciences, provided

vided they lived as good Subjects. Before the King left *Scotland*, he made the Earl of *Buckingham* Privy Counſellor of that Kingdom, he having been ſo in *England* for ſome Time. 1617.

Whilſt the King was on his Way to *London*, he received a Petition from ſome Labourers, Servants, and Mechanicks, complaining, that they were debarred from dancing, playing, and other Recreations on *Sunday* after divine Service. Whereupon it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the Puritans had a-mind to perſuade the People, that ſuch Diverſions were contrary to the Regard due to the Lord's Day.

This was ſufficient to induce the King to condemn this puritanical Scruple, and the rather as he had none himſelf about theſe Matters.

A Book therefore was publiſhed in his Name, wherein he maintained, that Paſtimes on *Sundays* were lawful. This Book made a great Noiſe; and ſeveral of the Biſhops declared their Opinions againſt the *Book of Sports*, as it was called; tho' *James* obliged it to be read in all the Churches.

Notwithſtanding this, the Lord Mayor of *London* commanded the King's own Carriages to be ſtopped as they were going through the City on a *Sunday*. The King being in a great Rage at this, ſent his Warrant to the Lord Mayor to let them paſs; which he obeyed with this Anſwer, "While "it was in my Power, I did my Duty; but "that

1617. "that being taken away, it is my Duty to "obey." This Anſwer pleaſed the King mightily.

The King never concerned himſelf with foreign Matters; but left them and the Government of the Kingdom to the Care of his Miniſter, who beſtowed nothing without Money, or a yearly Penſion, except to thoſe of his own Kindred, who flocked to Court to partake of his Greatneſs.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had been a Priſoner 12 Years, was releaſed, tho' without the King's Pardon. He acquainted the King, that, in his Travels, he had obſerved, in a certain Place in *America*, a very rich Gold Mine, but the Ground belonged to the *Spaniards*; and, as his Eſtate had been forfeited, he deſired a private Commiſſion from the King, and he hoped to bring Mountains of Gold. *James* granted him a Commiſſion, by virtue of which he engaged ſeveral People in his Project.

He ſet Sail with 12 Ships, and ſailed up the River *Oronoquo*; but being ſick himſelf, his Son, and Capt. *Keymis*, his Friend, went in ſearch of the ſuppoſed Mine: but finding nothing, they landed, and put the *Spaniards* to Flight, took the Town of *St Thomas*, and plundered it. Sir *Walter*'s Son was killed in the Aſſault. Then leaving a Garriſon in the Place, they advanced further into the Country, without being able to find the ſo much deſired Mine. At laſt, weary with ſearching, they returned to Sir *Walter*, who, find-

finding himſelf diſappointed, threatened *Keymis* with the King's Indignation. Soon after *Keymis* was found dead in his Cabin. He had firſt ſhot himſelf, then thruſt a Knife into his Body. 1617.

The Sailors, vexed at their ill Succeſs, compelled Sir *Walter* to ſail back. He would have perſuaded them to have carried him into *France*; but not regarding him, he was landed at *Plymouth*, where he was taken up, by the King's Orders, and ſent to the Tower.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador complaining of the Affair to the King, he told him he had expreſs Orders not to act againſt the *Spaniards*; and *Raleigh* returning without the Gold, it made his Caſe worſe. Whereupon the King determined, at length, to ſacrifice *Raleigh* to the *Spaniards*: But as he could not be tried upon his late Expedition, ſince he had a Commiſſion in Form, it was reſolved he ſhould loſe his Life, by virtue of the Sentence given againſt him 14 Years before; and he was beheaded accordingly. As there was a Treaty of Marriage on foot between the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta of *Spain*, *James* would not make a Breach with the *Spaniards*.

The People were become very much diſſatisfied with the King's Conduct, and complained highly of their Grievances; but the King ſeemed to have the Advantage. There was no Parliament; therefore no Man had Authority to arraign his Conduct openly.

One

1618. One great Grievance was, the Negotiation of the Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, who was a Papiſt: And the King had actually agreed to, and ſigned one Article; which was, that the Children of this Marriage be not conſtrained in Matters of Religion, nor their Title to the Crown prejudiced, in caſe they prove Catholicks.

The *Spaniard* prolonged this Negotiation, without intending a Concluſion of the Marriage, but only to amuſe King *James*, leſt he ſhould take the Proteſtants Part, with whom he was at Variance in ſome Part of his own Dominions in *Germany*, and alſo in *Bohemia*, where War was already proclaimed; and the *Spaniard* dexterouſly ſpun out this Negotiation, till he had got by it all poſſible Advantages, as well for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as for the Catholick Religion.

In the Beginning of this Year the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been in the Tower ever ſince the Gun-powder Plot, obtained his Liberty at laſt.

This Year the Queen died, in the 46th Year of her Age. The King ſoon after diſcovered more and more his ſettled Deſign to ſtretch the Prerogative-royal as high as poſſible; beſides, he gave very convincing Proofs, that he had not the Proteſtant Religion much at Heart. His Conduct about the *Spaniſh* Match laid open to the World his ſlender Capacity.

The King of *Bohemia* dying lately, and the Crown being elective, *Ferdinand*, his Couſin

Couſin and adopted Son, was proclaimed King: But the States of the Kingdom being for *Frederick*, Elector *Palatine*, (who married *James*'s Daughter) choſe him for their King. 1620.

Philip of *Spain*, who was devoted to *Ferdinand*'s Intereſt, did all he could to amuſe *James*, and draw him off from aſſiſting his Son-in-law; and ſucceeded ſo well, by keeping on foot the Negotiation of the Marriage, that *James* even declined the Intereſt of his Son-in-law. *James* was ſo much intent upon this Marriage, and the Dowry of 2,000,000 which had been promiſed, that the *Spaniard* kept him motionleſs, and, as it were, inchanted.

However, at laſt, by much Perſuaſion, *James* was prevailed on to ſuffer a Regiment of 2400 Men to be raiſed; which was done moſtly at the Charge of ſome Lords, and ſent to the Elector's Aſſiſtance: tho' *James*, at the ſame Time, did all he could to diſcourage *Frederick* from accepting of the Kingdom.

However, this Year was fought the famous Battle of *Prague*, wherein *Frederick*'s Army was entirely routed. Had *James* ſtirred heartily in this Cauſe, Matters undoubtedly would have had a different Turn.

But *James* had no Thoughts to defend the *Palatinate* by Arms, as long as he had any Hopes of concluding the Marriage with *Spain*. Nevertheleſs, he made Uſe of this Pretence to draw Money from his Subjects; and

1620. and sent a Letter, signed by the Council, to all the Nobility, and to the Lord Mayor of *London*, for a Benevolence; but this Method was unsuccessful, the People were so dissatisfied with the Government.

The Marquis of *Buckingham*, about the End of this Year, married the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Daughter, the richest Heiress in the Kingdom. Some say he debauched her before Marriage; and that the Earl of *Rutland* sent him word, if he did not marry her, the King's Favour, tho' never so great, should not be able to screen him from his Revenge.

This Favourite, as others before had done, still ruled all at Court: Nay, Places were frequently taken from those who had paid dear for them, in order to dispose of them to new Purchasers. One Instance was, *Montague* (who gave 20,000 *l.* to be made Lord Treasurer) was removed before the Year expired, without any Reason assign'd, and another put in his Place.

All the World murmured to behold the King's extreme Indolence with regard to the Affairs of *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*, which also became in Danger of being lost. These Murmurs of the People produced at length a Parliament: not that the Court's Intention was to please the People; but it was judged, that since they were so desirous proper Measures should be taken for the Defence of Religion and the *Palatinate*, the House of Commons would be ready to grant the

the King an Aid anſwerable to a Deſign of that Importance. 1621.

The Parliament being called, the King made a long Speech; and the Parliament, ſeeing the Neceſſity of this Undertaking, granted the King two entire Subſidies for the Defence of the *Palatinate*.

The Subſidy-act was no ſooner paſs'd, but Petitions came in Crowds to the Houſe of Commons, as well againſt the Increaſe of Popery, and Impunity of the Recuſants, as againſt Monopolies; which the King being made ſenſible of, made a Speech to the Houſe of Lords, full of tender and affectionate Expreſſions; affirming, he was ignorant of the ill Effects his Patents had cauſed, and charged them to bring the Offenders to ſpeedy and ſevere Juſtice: adding, his Intention was to revoke all his Patents which were injurious to the People; but, at the ſame Time, adviſed them not to ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with an inconſiderate Zeal for Juſtice, ſo as to hearken to thoſe who accuſed the Innocent as well as the Guilty.

Every Body knew, well enough, what he meant by this laſt Part of his Speech; namely, to hinder the Marquis of *Buckingham* from being attacked, who was reckoned the chief Author of the Monopolies.

Amongſt the reſt, a Patent had been granted to Sir *Giles Monpeſſon* and Sir *Francis Michel* for the ſole making and ſelling of Gold and Silver Lace. By this Means they put off great Quantities of counterfeit

1621. Gold Lace inſtead of real. However, the Lords confiſcated *Monpeſſon*'s Eſtate, who had made his Eſcape, and degraded him of his Knighthood. *Michel* was likewiſe degraded, fined 1000*l.* impriſoned for Life, and carried on Horſe-back, with his Face to the Tail, through the Streets of *London*.

Mean while, the Houſe of Commons having demanded a Conference with the Lords, repreſented to them, that the Chancellor *Bacon* being accuſed of ſeveral Crimes, it was not fit he ſhould any longer continue in ſo eminent a Poſt, if guilty. Whereupon the Lords ſent him to the Tower, and prepared for his Trial. He did all he could to avoid the Shame of a particular and full Confeſſion. To that End, he preſented a humble Submiſſion to the Houſe, confeſſing himſelf guilty in general, and imploring Pardon. But the Lords were inexorable: they required a Confeſſion of each particular Article of the Impeachment, which conſiſted in the Enumeration of ſeveral Bribes he had taken.

He was ſo very particular, that he confeſſed, one of his Servants took a Dozen of Buttons as a Gift in a Cauſe depending before him. He was ſtript of all his Offices, and his Eſtate was forfeited.

It was properly in this third Parliament that two Parties were formed, one for the Court, the other for the People; who began from this Time to oppoſe one another on all Occaſions. Theſe were the ſame Parties

ties which are ſtill in being, under the Names of *Tories* and *Whigs*. The firſt of which labours, inceſſantly, to ſtretch the Prerogative-royal as high as poſſible, when the King ſides with them; and the other is always inſiſting on the Rights and Privileges of the People. 1621.

The King had aſked a freſh Supply; but perceiving the Commons would not grant it, before it was known for certain whether there would be Peace or War, *James* ordered the Lord Treaſurer to go in his Name and adjourn the Parliament to the 14th of *November*.

The Commons looked upon this as an Incroachment upon their Privileges. They pretended the King had indeed Power to prorogue and diſſolve the Parliament, but that Adjournment was a peculiar Privilege of each Houſe. But *James* would not allow of this Diſtinction. Whereupon the Commons declared their Concern, becauſe it deprived them of the Means of finiſhing what they had begun for the Publick Good.

But the Lords, who had refuſed to join with the Commons in the Diſpute about the Adjournment, obtained Leave of the King to ſit 14 Days longer; during which Time the Commons aſſembled, and declared they would always be ready, to the utmoſt of their Power, both with their Lives and Fortunes, to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the Defence of the *Palatinate*.

Pre-

1621. Preſently after, the King iſſued a Proclamation, wherein, by his own Royal Authority, he annulled and revoked the Patent for Gold and Silver Lace, and ſeveral other Patents. After which, *Williams* was ſworn Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the Room of *Bacon*.

Philip III. King of *Spain* died this Year; and was ſucceeded by *Philip* IV. his Son.

James had in vain ſolicited a Peace between *Frederick* his Son-in-law and the Emperor *Ferdinand*; who had all along been only amuſing King *James* with fair Promiſes. Whereupon the King ordered the Parliament to meet again, and let them know that he had, by his Proclamation, redreſſed 37 ſeveral Grievances complained of by the People.

Then, he let them know, that he had again aſſembled the Parliament, upon the Declaration the Commons had made, to aſſiſt him powerfully in recovering the *Palatinate*.

The Commons, before they undertook to grant a Subſidy, drew a Remonſtrance; wherein they ſet forth the Neceſſity of fruſtrating the Growth of Popery in the Kingdom; and alſo, the Neceſſity of having the Money, which ſhould be granted, all laid out in the Defence of the *Palatinate*: with ſeveral other Remarks on State Affairs.

The King, hearing the Purport of this Remonſtrance, before it was drawn up ready for his Reception, writ to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, that none in that Houſe

House should debate publickly of the Matters concerning his Prerogative-royal; and commanded them not to presume to meddle with any Thing concerning his Government, or deep Matters of State; and not to concern themselves about his Son's Match with the Daughter of *Spain*: That if their Remonstrance related to these Matters it would not be received. 1621.

Upon this the Commons drew up a Petition, explaining fully the Reasons of the Remonstrance which was annexed to it; and they sent twelve Members with them to the King, who received them very roughly: some say, he called for a Dozen of Chairs for them to sit down, saying, *Here are 12 Kings come to me.* He received from them the Petition, but rejected the Remonstrance.

Some Days after, the King sent a long Answer to the Petition; which seemed to abridge the Parliament from entering upon any of the Affairs mentioned.

The Parliament thereupon directly drew up a Protestation, setting forth, that the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England*; and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, the State, and Defence of the Realm and of the Church of *England*, and the maintenance and making of Laws, and Redress of Grievances, are proper Subjects and Matter of Council and Debate in Parliament.

This

1622. This made the King aſſemble the Council, and, in their Preſence and the Judges, he declared the Proteſtation to be invalid and of no Effect; and did with his own Hand take the ſaid Proteſtation out of the Journal Book of the Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, and commanded an Act of Council to be made thereupon, and this Act to be entered in the Regiſter of Council Cauſes. And ſoon after the King diſſolved the Parliament.

Then iſſued a Proclamation, forbidding under ſevere Penalties to talk of State Affairs; and the King commanded the Judges, in their Circuits, to put the Laws in force againſt licentious Tongues.

The King's Reſentment did not end here: he ſent ſeveral of the Members of the Houſe of Commons (who had been moſt forward to maintain the Privileges of the Houſe) to Priſon; as alſo the Earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton*, who had ſpoke too freely on the like Occaſion in the Houſe of Peers.

The Diſſolution of the Parliament, and the little Likelihood of the King's ever calling another, could not but be attended with ill Conſequences. The King forfeited by this Means, not only the Love and Eſteem of a great Part of his Subjects, but alſo the Regard of Foreigners. While he was thus embroiled with his People, all the World concluded he could be no longer a Friend

Friend to be relied upon, or an Enemy to be feared. 1622.

This made alſo a Diviſion amongſt the Subjects and formed two oppoſite Parties, under the Name of *Whig* and *Tory*.

On the other Hand, the King's Party was ſtrengthened by the *Arminians* joining with them, who were pretty numerous. *Arminius*'s Doctrine had bred Diſputes in *England*, tho' with leſs Noiſe than in *Holland*. Many Clergymen had embraced this Doctrine, though condemned by the Synod of *Dort*.

Theſe Men, taking the Advantage of the Diſcord ariſing between the two Parties, joined with the Royaliſts, as did alſo the Papiſts; becauſe it was an abſolute Power alone that could help them to what they wanted: for the Parliament had declared againſt them. The greateſt Part of the Clergy alſo eſpouſed the King's Side; looking upon him as the only Perſon capable to ſupport them againſt the Attempts of the Puritans, whoſe Number continually increaſed.

The two Parties, being thus made up of Men of different Kinds and Sentiments, mutually upbraided one another with what was moſt odious in each Party. The Royaliſts confounded, under the Name of Puritans, all thoſe who oppoſed the King; and the Puritans taxed the Royaliſts with being Papiſts and *Arminians*.

The King now being at a Want for Money,

1622. ney, had recourſe to his Method of Benevolence. And as the Court knew very well, if ſome Conſtraint were not uſed, the Peoples Liberality would not go very far, the Judges were ordered in their Circuits to demand a Benevolence; and to intimate withall, that the King would not be ſatisfied with what ſhould be voluntarily offered, if it was not according to the Giver's Abilities.

James ſent Ambaſſadors to *Spain* to conclude the Marriage Treaty. The Articles concerning Religion were already ſettled; but the reſt were deferred till the Pope's Diſpenſation was obtained. This was an Artifice of the *Spaniſh* Court, to ſpin out the Affair, that they might have Time to finiſh the Conqueſt of the *Palatinate*: and tho' *James* got an Aid from the Parliament, and exacted the Benevolence from the People for its Defence; yet he took no Steps for that Purpoſe, being blinded by the *Spaniſh* Artifice. In all Appearance it was *Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the *Engliſh* Court, that made *James* conceive ſuch imaginary Hopes.

The King ſent alſo an Ambaſſador to *Rome* to haſten the Diſpenſation: And as he thought it was neceſſary to let the Pope ſee he was not a Proſecutor of the Catholicks; *James* publickly, by Writs under the Great Seal, releaſed all the Catholicks out of Priſon. This occaſioned many Cenſures, wherein the King's Conduct was not ſpared.

The

The *Spaniſh* Court, finding the King agreeable to all Propoſals which might probably reſtore the Catholick Religion in *England*, altered their Mind on a ſudden, and appeared as eager to bring the Match about as before they were backward; thinking by this Match to eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion in *England*. 1623.

The Duke of *Bavaria* was this Year inveſted with the Electoral Dignity and the *Upper Palatinate*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of ſeveral Princes. Such was the Effect of the Negotiations *James* kept on foot on Account of his Son-in-law; who was at length ſtript of his Dominions and Dignities.

The King of *Spain* and the Pope having at length got the King and Prince of *Wales* to ſign Articles to their Minds; the Marriage was ſhortly after agreed on to be ſolemnized: But not one Word was named of the *Palatinate* in the Articles.

Things being thus ſettled, on a ſudden the Face of this Affair was changed by a very odd and moſt extraordinary Adventure. The Marquiſs of *Buckingham* put it into the Prince of *Wales*'s Head to go to *Spain* and fetch Home his Miſtreſs the Infanta himſelf. He told him, "The more uncommon ſuch a Piece of Gallantry was amongſt Princes, the more it would redound to his Honour." The Prince liked the Project ſo well, that he never reſted till he got the King's Conſent.

1623. But the next Day, when the Prince and *Buckingham* went to the King, he had changed his Mind; whereupon *Buckingham* rudely told him, "He had given his Word, "and if he broke it No-body would believe "him again." At length *Buckingham* prevailed.

In two Days after the Prince, *Buckingham*, Sir *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, ſet out for *Spain*; they were to ride Poſt through *France*, and it was concluded, that the Secret ſhould be kept till they were a good Way on their Journey.

The Prince and *Buckingham* arriving in *Spain*, were received with great Splendour: And while they were there, received the Pope's Diſpenſation, but clogged with new Articles in favour of the Catholick Religion.

The Prince ſent *Cottington* immediately to *England* with theſe new Articles. *James*, being reſolved not to have the Marriage broke off at any Rate, ſoon ſigned the new Articles and ſent him back.

The King was ſo glad he had finiſhed the Affair of the Marriage, that he defied all the Devils in Hell to break the Match; and as a grateful Acknowledgment for the great Service his Favourite had done him, he ſent him a Patent to *Spain* creating him Duke of *Buckingham*. There was no other Duke at that Time in *England*.

The King's Compliance in every Thing went ſo far, that the *Spaniards* could hardly

ly believe he was in earneſt: and as there were ſecret Articles executed, whereby *James* promiſed to give a full Toleration to the Catholicks, the King of *Spain* inſiſted of having this performed by Proclamation before the Marriage. This Demand put him to a Stand: but being determined nothing ſhould hinder the Marriage, he put a Declaration, for that Purpoſe, into the Hands of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors; but deſired it might be deferred being made publick till after the Marriage, by reaſon of the ill Conſequences that might otherwiſe attend it. 1623.

The Marriage, however, was put off by the Death of the Pope; and the Prince of *Wales* was forced to ſtay in *Spain* till a new Pope was elected, and the Diſpenſation renewed.

Pope *Urban* the VIII. being choſen, the Diſpenſation was every Day expected by the Prince; but the Pope and the *Spaniards* had a different Game to play. They wanted the Prince to turn Catholick before Marriage, and this occaſioned a further Delay.

The Prince and *Buckingham*, whether for this Reaſon or others, all of a ſudden took a Reſolution to break off the Match, and writ to *James* for his Conſent; leting him know, nothing either in favour of the *Palatinate*, or the *Spaniards* fixed Reſolution about the Marriage, could be anſwered for.

James, without much Heſitation, conſented, and ſent Word for them to return.

1623. Then the Difficulty was, how to leave *Spain*. However, at laſt it was reſolved, and *Buckingham* told the King, that the *Engliſh* began to grow jealous of the Prince's Stay, and his Departure was become neceſſary; but that a Proxy ſhould be left to eſpouſe the Infanta as ſoon as the Diſpenſation came.

The King of *Spain*, in order to ſecure the Marriage, deſired himſelf to be the Proxy, together with Prince *Edward* of *Portugal*. This was granted, and it was drawn up, ſigned by the Prince, and delivered to the Earl of *Briſtol*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Spain*, with Orders to deliver it up to the King of *Spain* ten Days after the Diſpenſation ſhould arrive.

This done, they ſet out for the *Engliſh* Fleet lying at St *Andero*; at which being arrived, the Prince diſpatched Mr *Edward Clark*, one of *Buckingham*'s Creatures, to the Earl of *Briſtol*, not to part with the Proxy till he had Aſſurances given him that the Infanta, after the Eſpouſals, would not betake herſelf to a Cloiſter; and to ſend him word, before the Delivery of the Proxy, what Security was offered, that he might judge of it himſelf.

The Earl of *Briſtol*, who knew nothing of the Prince's Intention, applied at firſt to the Court of *Spain* for the Security required, fearing it might retard the Marriage if he delayed till the Diſpenſation arrived; and he received a ſatisfactory Anſwer, which he certified to the King and Prince.

The

The Prince and *Buckingham* being arrived, managed Matters so as to prevail with *James* to break off the Match; and immediately three Messengers were sent, two by Land and one by Sea, for fear of Miscarriage, with positive Orders to the Earl not to deliver the Proxy: and it came in the critical Moment; for the Dispensation arrived at *Madrid* in the Beginning of *December* New Stile, and the King's Letter the 13th of *November* Old Stile. 1624.

Upon the coming of the Dispensation *Philip* ordered all necessary Preparations for the Espousals to be got ready; nay, as the King of *England* had insisted on the Restitution of the *Palatinate* before the Marriage, *Philip*, to throw all the Blame upon him, (after he found that *Bristol* had Orders not to deliver the Proxy) sent to the Earl of *Bristol* a written Promise, signed by his own Hand; whereby he bound himself to cause the *Palatinate* to be restored to the Elector of *Palatine*. And thus ended the Affair of the *Spanish* Match, which had wholly taken up King *James* for seven Years. The Earl of *Clarendon* says positively, that the King was perswaded to this Breach by *Buckingham*; who acted with no less Insolence and Impetuosity, to break the Marriage, than when he constrained the King to consent to the Prince's Journey to *Spain*.

Since the Return of the Prince and Duke the King no longer ruled; all his Affairs were managed by them, and he had nothing

to

1624. to do but execute their Counſels. The King had none about him he could truſt: all his Officers and Courtiers were the Duke's Creatures; and the more firmly attached to him, as they ſaw him in great Favour with the Prince. Not only the Breach of the Marriage had been reſolved on by the Prince and *Buckingham*, but alſo a War with *Spain*; and the King durſt not contradict them, notwithſtanding his Averſion to War. Their firſt Project was, to demand for this War a Benevolence; but, on a ſudden, they gave over this Project, and reſolved to call a Parliament.

Buckingham did not queſtion but to gain the Good-will of the People, by getting a Parliament to be called, and declaring himſelf the Author of this happy Breach, which all good *Engliſhmen* paſſionately deſired. To compaſs his Ends, he ſtrove to become popular, and affected to careſs both the Church and State Puritans: Nay, ſuch was his Power over the King, that he made him ſpeak to the Parliament in a Manner the moſt repugnant to his Opinions and Principles.

Mean while the Prince and Duke had another Project, namely, the Prince's Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to the King of *France*; to which his Majeſty readily conſented.

The Parliament being met, the King made a Speech ſo different from thoſe he had made to the two former Parliaments, that one

one ſhould hardly believe ſuch oppoſite Expreſſions came from the Mouth of one and the ſame Prince. 1624.

After which *Buckingham* made a Speech, wherein he laid all the Blame of the *Spaniſh* Negotiation on the Earl of *Briſtol*; who afterwards proved what he ſaid on that Subject to be entirely falſe. The King, in his Speech, aſked the Parliament's Advice, whether to confirm or break off the Marriage, they not knowing it was already broke off. Upon which both Houſes had a Conſultation, and adjudged it reaſonable and convenient to break off the Match. After which the King made a ſecond Speech, ſetting forth, that he could not break the Treaty with *Spain*, without knowing firſt how he ſhould be able to maintain the War which would unavoidably enſue, ſince the *Palatinate* was to be recovered by way of Arms. He declared, therefore, that if they would raiſe Money for that Purpoſe, it ſhould be managed by Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament. Moreover, he promiſed the two Houſes not to make a Peace without their Advice. He concluded with ſaying, "I am ſo deſirous to forget all Rents in former Parliaments, that it ſhall not be in my Default if I am not in Love with Parliaments, and call them often."

This Speech was quite different from thoſe formerly made: but it was *Buckingham*'s Policy, who wanted to proclaim War with *Spain*;

1624. *Spain*; and, to compaſs his Ends, a Parliament, and ſuch a Speech, were neceſſary.

Some Days after, the Parliament offered the King three whole Subſidies, and three Fifteenths, as ſoon as he ſhould publickly declare he had broke off the Treaties about the Prince's Marriage and the *Palatinate*; but they took him at his Word, that the Money was to be depoſited in the Hands of Commiſſioners of their chuſing.

Afterwards the Parliament petitioned the King to have the Laws ſtrictly put in execution againſt the Papiſts, which was readily granted; and his Anſwer was worded in ſo obliging a Manner, that the Harmony ſeemed happy between the King and Parliament.

Tho' no *Engliſhman* durſt attack the Favourite directly, a Foreigner, however, undertook to ruin him in the King's Favour.

This was the Marquis of *Inoioſa*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; who, being enraged at the unworthy Manner wherein the Duke had cauſed the Marriage to be broke off, burnt with Deſire to revenge the King, his Maſter, and the Infanta: So, at a convenient Time, he gave the King a Paper, which contained ſeveral Articles of Accuſation againſt the Duke, which run a great Length to diſcard him; but, by Management, at laſt he got the King's Suſpicions removed.

Before the Parliament broke up, the Prince and Duke got *Lionel Cranfield*, Lord Treaſurer, lately created Earl of *Middleſex*, accuſed

ſed of Miſmanagement in the Diſcharge of his Office. The King knowing this Impeachment came from them, deſired them, for God's ſake, to uſe their Intereſt with the two Houſes to let it drop; yet they got him condemned in a Fine of 50,000 *l.* and declared uncapable of ever ſitting in the Houſe of Peers. All Hiſtorians agree, he did not deſerve ſo rigorous a Treatment: But the Duke, who had raiſed him from the Duſt, had a-mind to ſhew he was powerful enough to bring him down to his primitive State, for an Example to all ſuch as ſhould dare to riſe up againſt him: For it ſeems he had the Courage ſometimes to refuſe the Prince and Duke the exorbitant Sums they demanded when in *Spain*; ſo they reſolved to ruin him as ſoon as they came Home. 1624.

The King was ſo led by the Duke, that tho' he was in great Hopes of receiving ſome Benefit from the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Counſels, who was arrived from *Spain*; yet Matters were ſo managed, that the King was forced to ſend him expreſs Orders at *Dover* not to come to Court, but to remain at his Houſe till he had anſwered certain Queſtions which would be put to him by the Council.

The Earl waited a long Time; but after much Solicitation, being examined, returned ſuch Anſwers, that his Examiners could not help declaring, that his Conduct was unblameable. Notwithſtanding he was not admitted, the Duke ſent him word, his only

1624. Way to come into Favour again, was to make the Acknowledgment he had ſent him. Upon this the King told *Buckingham*, it was horrible Tyranny to make an innocent Perſon confeſs Faults which he was not guilty of. Notwithſtanding all this, it was not in the King's Power to ſpeak to the Earl, becauſe the Prince and Duke did not think it proper.

The Parliament being prorogued, it was neceſſary to think of the War. The Aid granted the King was very conſiderable. It was computed, that, with this Money, he might have ſent 25,000 Men into the *Palatinate*; but a much leſs Number was ſent.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had been diſpatched into *France*, having ſent word, that *Lewis* XIII. was inclined to liſten to the Overture of a Match between the Prince of *Wales* and his Siſter, the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, the King appointed the Earl of *Carliſle* to go and negotiate the Affair jointly with him.

While this was doing, the King was putting the Laws in execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants; and particularly againſt Friars and Prieſts, according to the Promiſe made to the Parliament.

This made the Catholicks apply to *Lewis* for Refuge; who, being much ſolicited, ſent *Hugo*, Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, to interceed with the King on their Behalf. The Archbiſhop's firſt Conference with the King was

was followed with the Releaſe of ſeveral Popiſh Recuſants, who had been impriſoned. 1624.

Moreover, the King gave the Archbiſhop Leave to adminiſter Confirmation at the *French* Ambaſſador's Houſe; and, 'tis ſaid, he confirmed above 10,000 Perſons.

The King and this Prelate being in Conference one Day, *James* was ſaying he had a great Deſire to live in ſtrict Friendſhip with the King of *France*.

The Archbiſhop took occaſion from this to tell him, that one of the beſt Means to that End, was to grant a full Toleration to the Catholicks: Whereupon the King, ſqueezing him by the Hand, ſaid theſe Words to him, "I perceive you are the "Man ſent from God to whom I may freely "open my Mind." Adding, "He always "had a good Opinion of the Catholick Re-"ligion, and intended to grant a full Tole-"ration; and, in order to bring it about, "was willing an Aſſembly of Divines, as "well Foreign as *Engliſh*, ſhould be held, "and therein be decided, that it was neceſ-"ſary to grant all the World Liberty of "Conſcience." This is taken from the Archbiſhop's own Narrative.

Mean time the Negotiation about the Marriage was carrying on, and almoſt brought to a Concluſion. The King of *France* offered 800,000 Crowns, on Condition the Prince aſſigned a Jointure of 60,000 Crowns a-year; which Offer and Condition were accepted.

Then

1625. Then nothing was wanting but the Pope's Diſpenſation; and this would not have been got, (the Pope uſed ſo much Artifice) had not the Ambaſſadors declared, that if he delayed, the Buſineſs would be done without it.

The Diſpenſation being at laſt granted, Marriage Articles were ſigned; wherein Madame was to have free Exerciſe of the Roman Catholick-Apoſtolick-Religion, and all the Children that ſhould be born of this Marriage.

Several great Advantages were obtained to the Catholicks by this Treaty of Marriage, while *James* ſhewed little Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion. One Article gave Madame the Education of the Children of this Marriage till 13 Years old; which was of very ſad Conſequence to *England*. It had very near been the Ruin of Church and State.

The Pope added two new Articles in favour of the Catholicks; and *James* was ſo far from breaking about what he judged Trifles, that he made no Objection: however, *James* died of a Tertian Ague before the Marriage was conſummated. Tho' few die of theſe kind of Agues, yet it brought him to his Grave in the 59th Year of his Age.

Buckingham was ſuſpected of being the Occaſion of the King's Death. He cauſed certain Plaiſters to be laid to his Side and Wriſts; and gave him twice, with his own Hands,

Hands, a Medicine to drink, in the Abſence of the Phyſicians. 1625.

The King finding himſelf worſe, ſent for the Phyſicians, who would not meddle till the Plaiſters were taken off; however, he died ſome Days after. The Duke was afterwards impeached by the Commons; not directly for poiſoning the King, but for daring to apply Remedies, without the Advice of his Phyſicians. *Buckingham* was afraid the King would ſet up *Briſtol*, his deadly Enemy.

James left one Son, *Charles*, his Succeſſor, and one Daughter, who married the Elector *Palatine*. He profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion; yet very much favoured the Catholick.

Hiſtorians differ in his Character. 'Tis certain, however, *England* never flouriſhed leſs than in this Reign. The *Engliſh* ſaw themſelves expoſed to the Inſults and Jeſts of other Nations; and the World, in general, threw the Blame on the King.

25. CHARLES I.

CHARLES I. Son and Succeſſor of *James* I. was tinctured, from his Infancy, with Principles concerning the Regal Authority and Prerogative Royal, which the deceaſed King had ſo much countenanced; and he had the ſame Favourite, the ſame Council; and all the Places at Court, and in the Country, were in the Hands of *Buckingham*'s Creatures.

If *James* had lived a little longer, it was generally believed, that the Duke would have been diſcarded, he having had, of late, ſeveral juſt Reaſons to be diſpleaſed at him.

It was very much ſuſpected, that the Duke, by applying a Plaiſter to the King's Side, and giving him a Potion to drink with his own Hand, without the Advice of his Phyſicians, might convey ſomething which ſhortened his Life.

For a Tertian Ague, the Diſtemper he died of, uſed not to be very dangerous in the Spring; and the Favourite found the King's Reſpect for him ſenſibly to decline: for which Reaſons the Duke was much ſuſpected.

Charles,

Charles, upon his firſt mounting the Throne, formed two Projects equally difficult to be brought about. The firſt was, to wreſt from the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*, both the *Palatinates*; which had been taken from his Brother-in-law, the Elector *Palatine*. The ſecond was, to carry the Regal Authority much higher than the King, his Father, or any of his Predeceſſors had done. 1625.

Theſe two Projects might ſeem impracticable when joined together: However, he imagined he could have both Houſes at Command; and, after rendering himſelf independant, could diſpoſe of the Riches of the Kingdom as he pleaſed. Theſe two Projects are the chief Subject of the firſt 15 Years of his Reign.

The Duke, and *Charles*, before he aſcended the Throne, had been the Cauſe of breaking off the Marriage with *Spain*, tho' they would ſeem to throw it upon the Parliament. The real Motive of this Breach with *Spain* is unknown.

However, the Parliament, in the late King's Time, having conſented to this War, *Charles* applied to the Houſe of Commons for Aid; but not finding them in a Readineſs to aſſiſt him, as he expected, he diſſolved ſeveral Parliaments meerly for that very Reaſon. This bred in the Minds of his Subjects Jealouſies and Diſcontents; which, being inflamed by other Cauſes, brought him,

in

1625. in the End, to the greateſt Misfortune that can befall a King.

It was under Pretence of this War, that the King intended to oblige the Commons to ſupply him with what Money he wanted; and, by having ſuch frequent Supplies granted, he intended to open the Way to arbitrary Power.

For *Charles* retained the ſame Principle of his Father; namely, that the Parliament owed its Being to the Conceſſion of the Kings; and that this Conceſſion might be revoked at Pleaſure; and that the King might govern without a Parliament; and conſequently, tax the People as he thought proper, and eſtabliſh a deſpotick Power.

Charles did not only diſſolve ſeveral Parliaments, becauſe they were not ſpeedy enough to grant the Sums he demanded; but alſo offered Violence to ſeveral Members, and extorted from his Subjects what Money he wanted, either by forced Loans, or by Taxes impoſed by his own Authority.

As ſoon as the deceaſed King's Funeral was ſolemnized, *Charles* haſtened to ſend 8000 Men to *Plymouth*, to be put on board a Fleet deſigned for an Expedition againſt *Spain*. As he had little Money in his Coffers, the Charge of Coat and Conduct Money was ordered to be diſburſed by the Country, and to be re-paid out of the Exchequer at a more convenient Seaſon. Theſe Troops having committed great Diſorders in their March, the King granted a Commiſſion

miſſion for Martial Law, to puniſh the Offenders. 1625.

The King's Marriage having been concluded in his Father's Lifetime, was ſolemnized at *Paris* with great Magnificence; the Duke of *Chevreuſe* doing the Office of Proxy for the King of *England*. Preſently after, the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent into *France*, to conduct the Queen to the King, her Spouſe. She arrived in *June* at *Dover*, where the King met her; and that very Day the Marriage was conſummated at *Canterbury*. Some Days after, they made their Entry into *London*; and two Days after the Parliament met.

The King made his Speech to both Houſes, in which he aſked a Subſidy to carry on the War: He alſo declared to maintain the Religion he profeſſed.

Tho' in his Speech he ſeemed deſirous to maintain the Religion he profeſſed, the Parliament did not ſeem to be fully ſatisfied of it; ſince, at the very firſt, both Houſes joined in preſenting to him a Petition againſt Recuſants. The King returned a gracious Anſwer; yet deferred anſwering each particular Article of the Petition, till he had examined it.

Mr *Richard Montague*, a Clergyman, had lately printed a Book, intitled, *An Appeal to Cæſar*; wherein were ſeveral Propoſitions tending to the Diſturbance of Church and State. It was complained of to the Commons, who examined the Author at the Bar

1625. of the Houſe, and thought proper to refer him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Archbiſhop, who was looked upon with no good Eye at Court, becauſe he was ſuſpected to be a Friend to the Puritans, contented himſelf with exhorting him to write no more upon ſuch Matters.

The Commons diſpleaſed the King at bringing *Montague* to the Bar. He being one of the King's Chaplains, he pretended it was ſtriking at his Prerogative, ſo brought the Cauſe before the Council. Every one ſuſpected, that as *Montague*'s Book contained an *Arminian* Doctrine, *Laud*, Biſhop of St *David*'s, the King's moſt intimate Counſellor for religious Affairs, had brought this about, to ſtop the Proſecution. *Laud* was accounted by many as the Head Protector of the *Arminians*, who were grown very numerous in the Kingdom.

The Parliament granted the King two Subſidies; after which he adjourned the Parliament to *Oxford*, by reaſon of the Plague, which raged very much in *London*.

King *James*, a little before his Death, promiſed to lend *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, five or ſix Ships to be employ'd againſt the *Genoeſe*. *Charles* was prevail'd upon, by Means of the Duke of *Buckingham*, to ſend theſe Ships, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Pennington*. Theſe Ships were ordered by *Lewis* to ſerve againſt *Rochel*; but the Mariners utterly refuſed, and all deſerted.

This

This Affair made a great Noiſe at *Oxford*. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s ill Conduct in this, and other reſpects, was loudly complained of in the Houſe of Commons. It was ſaid, that the Money granted by the Parliament was miſapplied; that the Seas were ſo neglected, that the Corſairs had done great Damage to the *Engliſh* Merchants; and that Popery and *Arminianiſm* were countenanced by a ſtrong Party in the Kingdom. *Neile*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Laud*, were chiefly looked upon as the Heads and Protectors of the *Arminians*. 1625.

The *Arminian* Doctrine, which the Synod of *Dort* thought fit to condemn, was reduced to theſe five Articles. 1. God does not in an arbitrary Manner predeſtinate any Perſon to be ſaved or damned. 2. Chriſt died for all Men; that is, all are Partakers of the Benefits of Chriſt's Paſſion, who ſincerely perform the Goſpel Terms of Faith and Repentance. 3. How neceſſary ſoever Grace may be towards our doing good Actions; yet, 4. It is not irreſiſtible; that is, we are ſtill free Agents; conſequently, 5. The Faithful may fall away, or depart from a State of Grace.

Montague was ſummoned again to appear before the Houſe of Commons, and was ſeverely reprimanded.

The King, in a Speech to the Parliament, applied for a further Subſidy for carrying on this War; but they intended the King ſhould, in ſome Meaſure, purchaſe the Aid he expected,

1625. pected, with the Redreſs of the Grievances the Nation groaned under: Wherefore, inſtead of beginning with the Money-Bill, as the King deſired, they fell to examining, and even enquiring into the Grievances of the People, and the State of Religion. In this Examination the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the reſt of the Miniſters, were not ſpared.

The King ſeeing how Matters were like to go in the Houſe of Commons, was extreamly offended, both as to their Slowneſs of raiſing the Money he demanded; and alſo, he accounted it an Affront, and a manifeſt Contempt of his Perſon, to preſume openly to attack his Favourite and Miniſters; ſo determined to diſſolve the Parliament. The Commons having Notice of it, drew up a Declaration, the Purport whereof follows:

Declaration of the COMMONS.

"WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of "Parliament, do ſolemnly vow, before God "and the World, that we are all reſolved, "and do hereby declare, that we will ever "continue moſt loyal and obedient Subjects "to our moſt gracious Sovereign Lord King "*Charles*; and that we will be ready, in a "parliamentary Way, freely and dutifully "to do our utmoſt Endeavours to diſcover "and reform the Abuſes and Grievances of

"the

"the Realm and State; and, in like ſort, 1625.
"to afford all neceſſary Supply to his Moſt
"Excellent Majeſty, upon his preſent and
"all other his juſt Occaſions and Deſigns;
"and we account all ſuch as Slanderers of
"the Peoples Affections, and Enemies to
"the Common-wealth, that ſhall dare to ſay
"the contrary."

The Parliament had ſit but about three Weeks, and the King diſſolved it, under Pretence of the ſpreading of the Plague; but the true Reaſon was, becauſe he found not in the Houſes a Compliance and Diſpoſition fit for his Purpoſe.

The Diſſolution of the Parliament hindered not the King from purſuing his Deſign of carrying on the War with *Spain*. He undertook this War, of which he was the principal Author and Promoter. He ſent the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* to the *Hague*, to negotiate a League with the United Provinces. In the mean Time a Fleet was fitting out to act againſt *Spain*.

But as he wanted Money, he found no ſpeedier or better Method, than by borrowing of ſuch Perſons as were beſt able to lend; to whom he directed Letters under his Privy Seal, requiring, by way of Loan, ſuch Sums as each was taxed at. This was the firſt Effect of the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

The Fleet deſigned againſt *Spain* was not ready to put to Sea till the Beginning of

Oc-

1625. *October*, under the Command of *Edward Cecil*, lately made Viſcount *Wimbleton*, who had the Earl of *Eſſex* for Vice-Admiral. The Fleet conſiſted of 80 Sail, with 10 Regiments on board. The Intent of this Expedition was, to go and wait in ſome convenient Place for the *Spaniſh* Plate-fleet, which was to come from the *Indies* in *November*. As the Admiral had Time enough, he might have attacked a good Number of Ships in the Bay of *Cadiz*; but the Difficulty of the Enterprize, or ſome other Reaſon, cauſed him to neglect this Advantage. Soon after the Contagion ſpreading among the Troops, the Fleet returned to *England*, without the King's reaping any Benefit, tho' he had been put to great Charge. This ill Succeſs did great Injury to the King, as well as to *Buckingham*, who was looked upon as the Contriver and Director of the Court Projects.

The King finding himſelf without Money, reſolved to call a new Parliament: But, to avoid the Inconveniency of ſeeing in the Houſe *ſuch* Members as had oppoſed him moſt in the late Parliament, the Count thought of this Stratagem, all *thoſe* Perſons were made Sheriffs. Sir *Edward Coke* was of this Number; however, he and ſome others were choſen, preferring the Service they owed their Country in Parliament, to that they could render it as Sheriffs.

Before the King's Coronation, he ordered, by Proclamation, that all ſuch as had 40 *l.* a-year,

a-year, or more, and were not yet Knights, to come and receive the Order of Knighthood. This was accounted a new Grievance, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. 1626.

The Parliament being aſſembled in *February*, the Lord Keeper, *Coventry*, made a Speech to both Houſes in the King's Name.

The firſt Thing the Commons took in hand, was to examine the publick Grievances; among which were reckoned the Miſcarriage of the Fleet to *Cadiz*, evil Counſellors about the King, and the Miſemployment of the three Subſidies and three Fifteenths granted to the late King for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. They alſo called in queſtion again the two Books compoſed by Dr *Montague*; and the Committee appointed to examine this Affair, reported to the Houſe the falſe, erroneous, papiſtical, *Arminian* Opinions found therein, repugnant to the Articles of the Church of *England*.

The King ſeeing the Commons bent upon the Examination of religious Matters, ordered his Attorney-General to acquaint the Judges of the Circuits, that it was his Pleaſure they ſhould proceed with Rigour againſt Recuſants.

The King had demanded a Supply of Money to carry on the War; but they were in no Haſte to grant him one; ſo proceeded in the Examination of Grievances.

The King being very uneaſy under theſe Delays, preſſed the Commons to conſider of the Supply he ſtood in Need of. The Lords alſo

1626. alſo uſed ſome Endeavours to perſuade them to it; but it was to no Purpoſe. They proceeded on the Nation's Grievances, and had always *Buckingham* in view. They cauſed him to be informed of the Articles on which the Complaints againſt him were grounded; whereupon the King ſent a Letter to the Speaker.

This Letter intimated the preſent Occaſion he had for Money, to carry on Affairs for the Good of the Nation, and required the Commons to go about raiſing a Supply.

The Commons reſolved to ſend an Anſwer to the King's Letter, full of Reſpect and Submiſſion, and even Promiſes of aiding him in his Wants, tho' in a general Manner; but, withall, they intimated to him, that a Redreſs of Grievances ought to precede the Aid they intended to grant him.

The King made a Reply, ſtill inſiſting of their granting an Aid; and alſo therein excuſed *Buckingham*'s Conduct, and required them not to proceed againſt him.

This did not prevent the Commons from proceeding in the Examination of *Buckingham*'s Conduct, they being reſolved to impeach him in Form.

Mean while, to leave the King no Pretence their Delays might furniſh him with, they voted him three Subſidies, and three Fifteenths; to which, a Month after, was added a fourth Subſidy: but, according to their Intent, this Act was not to paſs till after they had received Satisfaction upon the Point

Point of Grievances. This pinched the King greatly. He plainly ſaw the Commons Drift, and was the more offended at it, as all the Proceedings of the Commons were aimed at the Duke of *Buckingham*. He ſent therefore for the two Houſes to *Whitehall*, where he made them a Speech to the Purport following. 1626.

That tho' a Supply, ſufficient to anſwer the King's lawful Occaſions, had been promiſed by the Parliament, without any Condition annexed; yet now they inſiſted firſt upon a Redreſs of Grievances, which his Majeſty no-way objected againſt, but demanded firſt the Supply as at preſent neceſſary, that the National Affairs might be carrying on, under ſuch proper proportional Directions as the Aid to be granted would admit. And further, that the Supply agreed upon would be little, in compariſon of the Undertaking, if the War be to be carried forwards. He further ſays, that Mr *Coke* and Dr *Turner* had ſpoke unbecomingly in the Houſe, both in reſpect of his late Father and himſelf, and yet have received no Reprimand: That their Proceedings now carrying on againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, are irregular, being without his Approbation: That he himſelf ſhould be the fitteſt Perſon to correct his own Servants when faulty: That the Crime is ſtill greater, ſince he, who ſhould be the beſt Judge, inſiſts, that *Buckingham* hath committed no Crimes; and if, what they call Crimes, ſhould prove

1626. ſuch, yet all that has been done was by his Majeſty's Command.

That his Majeſty inſiſts upon a further Supply, and leaves it to the Commons to give their Anſwer on *Saturday* then next; and if he can't be anſwered this Way, that he will diſſolve the Houſe; and adds, that Parliaments are altogether in his Power for their Calling, Sitting, and Diſſolution: Therefore, as I find the Fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be.

Afterwards the Lord Chancellor and *Buckingham* made a Speech; and in *Buckingham*'s he had Orders to unlimit the Time for them to conſider of the further Supply; and the Reaſon of it was: As ſoon as the King's and the Chancellor's Speeches were over, and they departed, the Houſe of Commons ordered the Doors to be locked, and the Keys laid upon the Table, and immediately to enter into a Debate what was to be done. The King being informed of this, ordered a Conference of both Houſes, and then *Buckingham* took upon him to explain his Majeſty's Speech. This Explanation of the King's Intentions ſeemed to pacify the Commons; and they preſented the King with a Remonſtrance to juſtify their Proceedings.

In this Remonſtrance *Coke* and *Turner* were declared innocent: It repreſented as if the King had been wrong informed. As to the Supply, they had promiſed to grant his Majeſty ſufficient to make him enjoy Peace

at

at Home, and be feared Abroad; but to judge of that Sufficiency, reſted in them: That as to the Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, or any of his Majeſty's Servants, that it hath been the ancient, conſtant, and undoubted Right and Uſage of Parliaments, to queſtion and complain of all Perſons, of what Degree ſoever, found grievous to the Common-wealth, in abuſing the Power and Truſt committed to them by their Sovereign; without which Liberty in Parliament, no Great Officers can be called in queſtion for their Miſdemeanors; and the Commonwealth muſt languiſh under their Preſſures without Redreſs. After which both Houſes adjourned for a Week. 1626.

The King not being able to divert the Impeachment againſt the Duke, without ſtopping, at the ſame Time, the Subſidy Bill, conſented, at length, that the Houſe ſhould proceed in the Examination of his Favourite's Conduct; but it was with Intention to put a Stop to Proceedings, in caſe Matters were carried too far.

A few Days after, the Commons ſent word to *Buckingham*, that they were paſſing Articles of Accuſation againſt him, of which he might take a Copy, for they expected his Anſwer.

Some Interruption was given to *Buckingham*'s Impeachment, and conſequently to the Subſidy Bill, by a new Affair. The Earl of *Briſtol*, who had been Ambaſſador in *Spain* about the Marriage, had the Misfortune

1626. tune to diſpleaſe the Prince and the Duke in the late Reign; and, as their Aim was to hinder him from giving the Parliament an exact Account of what paſſed in *Spain*, they managed it ſo, that, at his Return, he was confined to his Houſe, and afterwards ſent to the Tower. King *James* was fully ſatiſfied of his Innocence; but he was ſo little Maſter of his Actions the two laſt Years of his Life, that he durſt not openly protect him.

The Earl, however, thought this a fit Juncture to obtain his Liberty; ſo preſented a Petition to the Houſe of Lords, ſetting forth, (ſince nothing had yet been alledged againſt him) that being a Peer of the Realm, he had received no Summons to the Parliament; deſiring them to interceed, that he might enjoy his Privileges.

Whereupon the Lords prayed his Majeſty to ſend a Writ of Summons to the Earl. The King granted it, and a Writ was ſent; but, withall, he received a Letter, under the Great Seal, acquainting him, that his Majeſty would rather have him make an Excuſe for his Abſence.

The Earl, upon this, addreſſed himſelf again to the Lords, ſending the Letter, and telling them it was done by *Buckingham*'s Credit, whoſe Aim was to prevent him from making known his Miſdemeanors: Moreover, he beſought the Lords to permit him to bring an Acccuſation againſt the Duke; wherein he would demonſtrate how much

the

the Duke had deceived the late King, his preſent Majeſty, the State, and the Parliament. 1626.

The King was ſo offended with the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Boldneſs, that he ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, declaring he was determined to exhibit before them a Charge of High Treaſon againſt the Earl of *Briſtol*.

Some Days after, the Earl was brought to the Bar of the Houſe, and the Attorney-General read the Charge againſt him in the King's Name.

The Lords received alſo the Accuſation enter'd by the Earl of *Briſtol* againſt *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Conway*, Secretary of State.

The King's Charge againſt the Earl was divided into three Heads; namely, what he had done before the Prince's going to *Spain*; what he had done during the Prince's Stay in *Spain*; and what he had done after the Prince's Return.

But the Earl made ſuch a Defence as covered the Accuſers with Confuſion. In his Anſwer Truth ſhined throughout: It was all perfectly of a Piece: Nothing ſeemed diſguiſed; and the Earl's Innocence appeared in ſo evident a Manner, as there could not be the leaſt Doubt made of it. He plainly ſhewed alſo how *Buckingham* had impoſed upon the Parliament in his Narrative of what paſſed in *Spain*. This reflected on the King himſelf, who had not only atteſted the Relation, but perſiſted ſtill to at-

at-

1626. teſt it as true: Wherefore, he did not think fit to proſecute a Sentence againſt the Earl.

Some Days after the Earl of *Briſtol* had given in his Anſwer, and preſented his Charge againſt the Duke and the Lord *Conway*, the Commons brought up to the Lords their Declaration and Impeachment againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*: It contained 13 Articles, which were explained and aggravated by the Managers appointed by the Commons; an Abſtract of which follows.

I. He was accuſed of ingroſſing into his own Hands a great Number of Offices, ſome whereof could hardly be rightly executed by a ſingle Perſon, and of procuring them by ill Means.

II. Of purchaſing the Office of High Admiral of the Earl of *Nottingham*.

III. Of buying the Office of Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports of the late Lord *Zouch*.

IV. Of having neglected to guard the Seas, and protect the Merchants.

V. Of confiſcating a *French* Ship worth 40,000 *l. Sterling*, and of detaining her, after the King's Order to reſtore her, and taking out ſeveral Things to his own Uſe.

VI. Of oppreſſing the *Eaſt-India* Company, and of detaining them, under falſe Pretences, when they were ready to ſail; and of compelling them to give him 10,000 *l.*

10,000 *l.* that they might not loſe their Voyage. 1626.

VII. and VIII. Of delivering ſeveral Merchant Ships, and a Man of War, into the Hands of the *French* King, againſt the Will of the Owners, to ſerve at the Siege of *Rochel*.

IX. Of conſtraining ſeveral Perſons to purchaſe Titles of Honour.

X. Of ſelling the Office of High Treaſurer for 20,000 *l.* and the Office of Maſter of the Wards and Liveries for 6000 *l.*

XI. Of procuring to his Kindred and Allies Titles of Baron, Viſcount, Earl, without their having done the State any Service.

XII. Of embezzling and ingroſſing the King's Money and Lands.

XIII. Of applying a Plaiſter to the late King's Side in his laſt Sickneſs; and of giving him a Potion with his own Hand at ſeveral Times, in the Abſence, and without the Order, of the Phyſicians.

The next Day *Dudley* and *Elliot*, two of the Managers of the Impeachment, were, by the King's Command, ſent to the Tower. Then the King went to the Houſe of Lords, and told them, that he himſelf could be a Witneſs to clear *Buckingham* of every one of the Articles exhibited.

The King was no ſooner departed from the Houſe, but the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, to deſire that *Buckingham* might be taken into Cuſtody; but the Lords durſt

1626. durſt not venture, for fear of diſpleaſing the King.

The Words that *Dudley* and *Elliot* were charged with to have ſpoken, the Lords declared they heard them ſpeak no ſuch thing: It ſhould have been their ſpeaking of the Plaiſter and Potions, with ſome Aggravations; but the King, ſeeing no Way to ſupport what he had done, cauſed them to be releaſed.

The Lords ſeeing the Commons had inſiſted of their Privilege for the Releaſe of theſe Members, and prevailed, petitioned the King for the Releaſement of the Earl of *Arundel*, who had been impriſoned for much the like Occaſion: Nay, they went ſo far as to declare, that it was an expreſs Breach of their Privilege, to impriſon any of their Members, (the Parliament ſitting) without Sentence or Decree of the Houſe. The King inſiſted a good While of his Right to do it; but was forced, at laſt, to releaſe him.

Before the Duke of *Buckingham* had given in his Anſwer to the Impeachment, the Chancellorſhip of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* became void; and the King ordered it ſo, that the Duke was elected Chancellor.

The Commons ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, alledging, that he had no Right to be elected during the Impeachment; but the King openly and ſtoutly ſupported the Election, in ſpite of the Commons.

At

At length the Duke put in his Anſwer to the Impeachment; and the Commons deſiring a Copy of it, the King, the next Day, writ to the Speaker, and inſiſted to have the Subſidy Bill paſſed. 1626.

The Commons thinking this an Artifice, to evade the Proſecution againſt the Duke, did not think fit to comply with the King's Will; but preſented a freſh Petition to him againſt Popiſh Recuſants, with a Liſt of 59 Recuſants who were in Places of Truſt and Authority, both Earls, Viſcounts, Lords, and Commons; and the Petition ſet forth, that they held their Commiſſions contrary to the Acts and Laws of the Realm.

It redounded not to the King's Honour to be preſſed ſo often to perform what he had ſo poſitively promiſed: But it muſt be conſidered, that it was not eaſy for him to withſtand the Solicitations of the Queen, of *Buckingham*, (whoſe Mother was a profeſſed Papiſt) of Sir *Richard Weſton*, his Chief Chancellor, and of the Lord *Conway*, Secretary of State, both Papiſts, ſince theſe were the Men that were neareſt his Perſon.

A few Days after the Commons reſolved to go in a Body to wait upon the King, and preſented to him, by their Speaker, a Declaration of their Conduct, and a Petition to remove the Duke of *Buckingham* from his Perſon.

They had Acceſs, and the Speaker made a Speech, and then preſented his Majeſty with the Declaration and Petition. The

1626. King received them; but was ſo diſpleaſed, that he immediately came to a Reſolution to diſſolve the Parliament. The Lords being informed by the King himſelf of his Reſolution, preſented a Petition to him to divert him from it; but he would hearken to nothing, ſo diſſolv'd the Parliament by Commiſſion under the Great Seal. No Body doubted but *Buckingham*'s Intereſt was the ſole Cauſe of it.

The Commons publiſhed a Remonſtrance, to juſtify their Proceedings, and to throw all the Blame of the Miſunderſtanding between King and Parliament upon *Buckingham*.

The King, in Anſwer, publiſhed a Declaration to juſtify his Conduct and Proceedings, and to throw all the Blame on the Commons; ſo each Perſon was left to judge according to what he moſt believed.

The King publiſhed a Proclamation, forbidding to preach or diſpute upon the controverted Points of *Arminianiſm*, either for or againſt them; under colour that ſuch ſort of Diſputes ſerved only to breed Contentions.

By the King's Command, an Information was preferred in the Star-chamber againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, for applying the Plaiſter to the late King; but, withall, he ordered it ſo, that the Cauſe came not to a Hearing.

The King being at great Straits for Money to manage both foreign and domeſtick Affairs,

fairs, which required more than his ordinary Revenues would advance, had recourſe to the following Expedients, tho' they were not all put in Practice at the ſame Time. 1626.

The firſt was a Proclamation, forbidding all Perſons, for two Years, to preſent or ſolicit any Suit for any thing tending to the Diminution of the King's Revenues.

The ſecond was, a Commiſſion iſſued out to the Archbiſhop of *York* and others, to compound with the Popiſh Recuſants, not only for all Forfeitures due ſince the tenth Year of King *James*, but alſo for ſuch as ſhould become due hereafter.

The third was a Proclamation, declaring, that the King was reſolved to make his Revenue certain by granting his Lands, as well holden in Copy as otherwiſe, to be holden in Fee-farm.

The fourth was a Loan from every Peer of a certain Sum for the Defence of the Kingdom; but his Attempt to borrow 100,000 *l.* of the City of *London* failed.

The fifth was, an Impoſition upon the ſeveral Ports and Maritime Counties, to furniſh and ſet out a certain Number of Ships to protect the Trade. The City of *London*, who had refuſed to lend the King Money, was appointed to equip 20 Ships.

Laſtly, the Council ordered very ſtrictly, that the Payment of Tonnage and Poundage ſhould be continued, tho' the King had yet no Grant from the Parliament, and tho' the Com-

1627. Commons had complained of the levying theſe Impoſts as a Grievance.

To let the People ſee that it was purely out of Neceſſity that theſe Methods were taken to raiſe Money, his Majeſty ordered a general Faſt, to divert the Judgments of God ready to fall on the Kingdom, by the pretended Invaſion it was threatened with.

The King of *Denmark*, whom *Charles*, his Nephew, had engaged in a War with the Emperor, was about this Time defeated, with the Loſs of all his Baggage and Train of Artillery. This Accident put *Charles* under a Neceſſity to find Money to ſupport the King, his Uncle.

The Way that was taken to raiſe Money on this urgent Occaſion, was by a general Loan from the Subjects, according as every Man was aſſeſſed in the Rolls of the laſt Subſidy; and the Council gave Orders to the Commiſſioners appointed to collect theſe Loans, firſt, to uſe Artifices to oblige them, as far as poſſible; if that did not do, to threaten and terrify them; if that did not do, to uſe Rigour, to compel the moſt obſtinate.

The People in general were ſo much againſt the Loan, that the Money came in but ſlowly to the King's Exchequer. The Court was therefore forced to uſe a more violent Method; which was, that ſuch of the common ſort as refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Loan, were ordered to be enrolled as Soldiers to ſerve in his Majeſty's Troops.

As

As for Perſons of Birth and Rank, they were ſummoned to appear before the Council; and, upon their refuſing a ſecond Time to lend Money, were confined to Places at a great Diſtance from their Habitations; and ſuch as refuſed to be thus confined, were committed to the ſeveral Priſons in *London*. 1627.

Another Method was put in Practice, which did the King more Hurt than Good; and that was, to get Miniſters hired to preach up as a Scripture Doctrine, that Subjects were obliged to obey the King's Will and Pleaſure without Examination.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* was ſuſpended from all his Archiepiſcopal Functions, and confined to one of his Country Houſes, for refuſing to licenſe *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, which contained the above Doctrine.

Thus the Conduct of the King and his Miniſters plainly ſhewed, that it was their Intent to eſtabliſh an arbitrary Power, and ſet the King above the Laws.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had a great Influence over the King, ſaw plainly, that an Agreement between him and his People would infallibly be followed with his Ruin; ſo both he and his Creatures, the reſt of the Miniſters, were conſidering their own Safety, without any Regard to a National Good.

The Effect of this Policy, to keep the King and Parliament at Variance, plainly appeared; for, inſtead of perſuading the King to make Peace with *Spain*, they engaged him, by Degrees,

1627. grees, to proclaim War with *France*, at a Time when he knew not how to continue that he had begun with the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

That *France* might have ſome Pretence for the Rupture, which was meditating in *England*, the King, upon ſome Diſguſt he received from the Queen's *French* Chaplains and Domeſticks, diſmiſſed them all. The King of *France* highly reſented this manifeſt Breach of the Marriage Treaty; yet did not ſeem to ſeek Revenge by way of Arms.

The Lord *Clarendon* aſſigns the following Cauſe for the War with *France*, *viz.* *Buckingham*'s Pride, who being ſent to *Paris* to conduct the Queen into *England*, fell in Love with *Ann* of *Auſtria*, Wife to *Lewis* XIII. and had the Confidence to let her know his Paſſion. 'Tis ſaid the Court of *France* threatened him with Puniſhment ſuitable to his Inſolence, and refuſed to let him ſee the Queen any more; and that he ſwore he would ſee her in ſpite of them all. To this Oath is aſcribed the Reſolution he made *Charles* take to wage War with *France*, in Hopes it would give him an Opportunity to perform what he had ſworn. I think there ſeems very little Probability in this Story.

The King, however, gives his Reaſons to the Council as follow: That it was to ſupport the *Hugonots*, who laboured under great Hardſhips, contrary to *Lewis*'s expreſs Promiſe to *Charles*; and alſo, that *Lewis* had done great Injuſtice to the *Engliſh* in Time of Peace,

Peace, by ſeizing 120 *Engliſh* Ships, with all their Merchandize and Artillery. 1627.

This Seizure would ſeem in itſelf a ſufficient Cauſe: But then, the Truth is, that the *Engliſh* were the Aggreſſors; and this was done by way of Repriſal. As for the other Reaſon, the Court did not ſeem, at this Juncture, by their Actions, to have Religion ſo much at Heart as to make this the true Motive.

A Fleet was made ready of an hundred Ships: *Buckingham* was made Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander in Chief of the Land Forces which ſhould be embark'd for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. The Fleet ſailed with 7000 Soldiers on board, and appeared before *Rochel*.

At the Duke's Approach, the *Rochellers* ſhut their Gates, for fear of a Surprize. The Duke ſent them word, that his Maſter, out of Compaſſion to their Sufferings, had ſent a Fleet to their Aſſiſtance: However, the Mayor replied, that he could not receive them, without conſulting the reſt of the Proteſtants in *France*.

The Duke then directed his Courſe to the *Iſle of Rhee*, where *Toiras* commanded. *Toiras* endeavoured, at firſt, to hinder their Landing; but, as his Forces were few, he was obliged to retreat to his Citadel at St *Martin*'s. Had the Duke underſtood the Art of War, he would, without a Moment's Loſs, have marched to the Fort, and hindered *Toiras* from getting in Proviſions; but

1627. but he ſpent ſo much Time in landing, that *Toiras* got the Place well ſtored. At laſt he marched to St *Martin's*, and beſieged it in Form, but with little Succeſs.

The King of *France* hearing of this unexpected Invaſion, ſent an Army of 6 or 7000 Men, who paſſed over into the Iſle without any Oppoſition from the *Engliſh* Fleet.

Then they marched to St *Martin's*, the Siege whereof the Duke of *Buckingham* raiſed with Precipitation. Being vigorouſly puſhed by the *French* to the very Sea Side, he reimbarked his remaining Troops with great Difficulty, and returned Home, with the Loſs of near 5000 Men.

The ill Succeſs of this Expedition raiſed a Number of Complaints and Murmurs againſt *Buckingham*. The Merchants made bitter Complaints, that the Seas were neglected; and that, for three Years laſt paſt, they had loſt vaſt Numbers of Ships. In a word, no Body ventured to build any more new Ships, becauſe, as ſoon as they were ready, the King ſeized them for his Service, againſt the Will of the Owners.

The King being under great Straits, took Sir *Robert Cotton's* Opinion upon the preſent Situation of Affairs. *Cotton* adviſed him to call a Parliament; but, as he foreſaw that the Commons would fall upon *Buckingham*, he adviſed the King to order it ſo, that the Duke might be the firſt Mover of it in full Council.

This

This being reſolved, Warrants were ſent to the ſeveral Priſons to releaſe the confined Gentlemen, 27 of whom were choſen to repreſent in this Parliament. 1628.

The Parliament being met, the King and the Chancellor made each a Speech, wherein they explained the great Neceſſity of raiſing Money; but took Care to let them know, at the ſame Time, that in caſe the Money he wanted was not granted, he had it in his Power to raiſe it otherwiſe.

The Commons firſt began to examine the Grievances of the Nation, and ſeemed determined to grant no Supply, till thoſe Grievances were redreſſed; therefore the Commons came to the following Reſolutions.

I. That no Freeman ought to be detained in Priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrained by the King or Privy Council, or any other, unleſs ſome Cauſe of the Commitment, Detainer, or Reſtraint, be expreſſed.

II. That the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* may not be denied to any Priſoner, nor Bail, where the Crime is bailable.

III. That no Tax, Loan, or Impoſition, either by way of Loan, or otherwiſe, ought to be impoſed upon the Subject, without Conſent of Parliament.

After the King was acquainted with theſe Reſolutions, he let the Commons know, that as to Freedom of Perſons, and Property of Goods, he was willing to come into any Ex-

1628. pedients which ſhould be judged proper by way of Bill or otherwiſe; and that the more Confidence they ſhould give to his Grace and Goodneſs, the more they ſhould prevail to obtain their Deſires.

Upon this Meſſage the Houſe unanimouſly voted five Supplies to the King; but they returned immediately to the Examination of Grievances, and held a Conference with the Lords upon that Subject.

Secretary *Coke* moved the Diſpatch of the Subſidies, and to have the Bill brought in; but it was reſolved, that Grievances and Supplies ſhould go Hand-in-hand.

The King, upon this, ſent another Meſſage to have the Supply to go forwards, for fear they ſhould force him to make an unpleaſing End of that which was ſo well begun.

This Meſſage did the King great Injury; for they plainly ſaw, that if the Subſidy Bill ſhould once be paſſed, a Redreſs of Grievances would hardly be brought about.

At laſt the King did ſo threaten in his Meſſage, that he would govern without a Parliament, that they took it into full Conſideration to ſtand by their Rights and Properties, and not allow of any ſuch threatening Precedents.

The Commons drew up a Remonſtrance, and waited upon his Majeſty with it. By this they repreſented, that the Supply ſhould go forwards; and they hoped alſo, that an Examination of Grievances ſhould not be retarded.

tarded. They told him, that the preſer- 1628.
ving of thoſe fundamental Liberties, which concern the Freedom of our Perſons, and Property of Goods and Eſtates, is an eſſential Means to eſtabliſh the true Glory of a Monarchy: For rich and free Subjects, as they are beſt governed, ſo they are moſt able to do your Majeſty Service, either in Peace or War; which, next under God, hath been the Cauſe of the happy and famous Victories of this Nation, beyond other Kingdoms of larger Territories, and greater Number of People. They alſo prayed to be redreſſed of thoſe many Inconveniences and Diſtractions that have befallen his Subjects, by the billeting of Soldiers in private Mens' Houſes againſt their Will; the bad Conſequences whereof are as follow.

I. The Service of Almighty God is hereby greatly hindered; the People in many Places not daring to repair to Church, leſt, in the mean time, the Soldiers ſhould riſe their Houſes.

II. The ancient and good Government of the Country is hereby neglected, and almoſt contemned.

III. Your Officers of Juſtice, in Performance of their Duties, have been reſiſted and endangered.

IV. The Rents and Revenues of your Gentry greatly and generally diminiſhed; Farmers, to ſecure themſelves from the Soldiers Inſolence, being, by the Clamour or So-

1628. Solicitation of their fearful and injured Wives and Children, enforced to give up their wonted Dwellings, and to retire themſelves into Places of more ſecure Habitation.

V. Huſbandmen, that are, as it were, the Hands of the Country, corrupted by ill Examples of the Soldiers, and encouraged to an idle Life, give over Work, and live at other Mens' Charges.

VI. Tradeſmen and Artificers almoſt diſcouraged; and, being forced to leave their Trades, and to employ their Time in preſerving themſelves and the Families from Cruelty.

VII. Markets unfrequented; and our Ways grown ſo dangerous, that the People dare not paſs to and fro upon their uſual Occaſions.

VIII. Frequent Robberies, Aſſaults, Batteries, Burglaries, Rapes, Rapines, Murders, barbarous Cruelties, and other moſt abominable Vices and Outrages, are generally complained of from all Parts, where theſe Companies have been and had their Abode; few of which Inſolences have been ſo much as queſtioned, and fewer, according to their Demerit, puniſhed.

It is a merry Thing to ſee how the King and Commons tranſacted together. There was nothing but Evaſion and Artifice on both Sides. They expreſſed not their real Thoughts when they ſpoke to each other; and

and yet they underſtood one another perfectly well. 1628.

The King made his Reply, ſtill preſſing the Subſidy forwards; and promiſed, that what concerned their Petition, ſhould be anſwered in a convenient Time.

The Commons prepared a Petition to be preſented to the King in the Name of both Houſes, to which they deſired the Concurrence of the Lords. This Petition was termed *The Petition of Right*; becauſe the Intent of it was not to deſire of the King any Grace or Favour, but only the Maintenance of the Liberties of the Subject. For this Reaſon it was to be ſolemnly preſented to the King on the Throne, by way of Bill; and the King was to reply to it in a parliamentary Manner. This was ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence. The King omitted nothing that was in his Power to ward off this Blow; and, as he had a great Party in the Houſe of Lords, he managed it ſo, that they, by pretending to agree with the Commons upon the Subſtance of the Petition, propoſed to move his Majeſty to make a Declaration to both Houſes in a general Way, which amounted to as much as the Commons requeſted; yet Room was left in it for Evaſion, if he thought fit.

The Commons fell not into this Snare, plainly perceiving it was only an Artifice to elude the Petition of Right; which would, in a great Meaſure, become needleſs, after this Declaration; tho' it was expreſſed in ſuch

1628. ſuch general Terms, that it left Room for Cavil: But the Petition of Right had guarded againſt it; ſo the Commons entirely rejected the Propoſition of the Lords.

The King not being able to ſucceed in his Deſign, by Means of the Upper Houſe, tried to ſatisfy the Commons, by making them, of his own Accord, the ſame Offers the Lords had ſeemed only to deſire of him; ſo ſent for both Houſes to *Whitehall*, and, by the Lord Keeper, made his Speech to the following Purport.

"That he holdeth the Statute of *Magna* "*Charta*, and the other ſix Statutes inſiſted "upon for the Subjects Liberty, to be all "in Force; and aſſures them, that he will "maintain all his Subjects in the juſt Free- "dom of their Perſons, and Safety of their "Eſtates; and that he will govern accord- "ing to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; "and that they ſhall find as much Security "in his Majeſty's Royal Word and Promiſe, "as in the Strength of any Law he can make: "ſo that hereafter they ſhall never have "Cauſe to complain."

The Commons avoided this Snare like the former, and firmly ſtuck to the Petition of Right.

A few Days after the King ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, to know whether they would reſt on his Royal Word, which he aſſured them ſhould be perform'd.

While the Houſe was in Debate upon this Meſſage, another Meſſage came to the ſame Ef-

fect; and added, that Time did not admit of Debate or Delay: That the Parliament was to continue together no longer than *Tuesday* se'nnight; in which Time his Majesty, for his Part, would be ready to perform what he promised; and if the House was not as ready to do what was fit for them, it was their own Faults. 1628.

All this was not able to divert the Commons from their Purpose, of turning the Petition of Right into an Act of Parliament; and the Speaker made a Speech to the King, importing as much.

The King, by the Lord Keeper, gave an Answer; which, amongst other Things, set forth, that, to shew clearly the Sincerity of his Majesty's Intentions, he is content that a Bill be drawn for a Confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and the other six Statutes insisted upon for the Subjects Liberties, if they should chuse that as the best Way; but that it may be without Additions, Parentheſis, or Explanations.

As the Commons had resolved, that the Supply of Grievances should go Hand-in-hand, the Petition of Right was no sooner ready, but they made one Step farther in the Business of the Subsidies, ordering, that the two first should be paid the 10th of *July*, one more the 12th of *October*, another the 20th of *December*, and the last the 1st of *March*.

The same Day they sent the Petition of Right to the Lords for their Concurrence; but as the King still wanted to wave this, the

1628. the Commons ſaw themſelves obliged to ſtand two freſh Attacks more; one from the King, the other from the Houſe of Lords, where the Court Party was very ſtrong.

The firſt was, a Letter from the King to the Lords; in which, by obſcure and doubtful Expreſſions, and by ſundry Reſtrictions, he was preparing Means to elude his Promiſes, at the very Time he would have them received as ſolemn, authentick, and ſatisfactory.

The ſecond Attack was from the Lords, who moved to add to the Petition of Right a Clauſe, which would have rendered it of no Effect, at leaſt, according to the Courts Intention. It ran thus:

"We preſent this our humble Petition to "your Majeſty, with the Care not only of "preſerving our own Liberties, but with "due Regard to leave entire that Sovereign "Power, wherewith your Majeſty is truſted "for the Protection, Safety, and Happineſs "of the People."

This Addition was examined and debated in the Houſe of Commons; and the general Opinion was, that it ought to be rejected for three Reaſons. 1. Becauſe of the Ambiguity of the Words *Sovereign Power*, which the Parliaments had never uſed in ſpeaking of the King's Prerogative. 2. Becauſe this Addition was in the Nature of a ſaving of the King's Sovereignty, which rendered the Petition of no Force. 3. That if this Addition was general, and had no Reference

to

to the Petition, there was no need of admitting it; but if, on the contrary, it did refer to the Petition, it was evident it rendered the Petition of no Effect. 1628.

This Clauſe being thus rejected, the Lords durſt not throw out the Petition, on account of this Addition; ſo being ſatisfied with giving the King this Teſtimony of their Affection for his Service, they inſiſted no longer on it; ſo the King came to the Parliament to give the Royal Aſſent to the Petition of Right.

The King being come to the Houſe, the Petition of Right was read; but the Anſwer the King gave to it was general, and not ſatisfactory: So the Commons, inſtead of going on with the Subſidy Bill, returned to the Conſideration of Grievances.

The KING's *Anſwer.*

"THE King willeth, that Right be "done according to the Laws and "Cuſtoms of the Realm; and that the Sta"tutes be put in due Execution, that his "Subjects may have no Cauſe to complain "of any Wrong or Oppreſſions, contrary to "their juſt Rights and Liberties; to the "Preſervation whereof he holds himſelf in "Conſcience as well obliged, as of his Pre"rogative."

Herein the King, inſtead of giving the Parliament the Satisfaction they deſired,

1628. kept in his Anſwer to the general Promiſes; which ſhewed plainly his Intention.

The King ſeeing the Commons otherwiſe employ'd than in the Buſineſs of the Subſidy, ſent a Meſſage to them, that he would abide by his Anſwer, and perform what he therein promiſed: That he intended to end the Seſſions on the 11th Day of the ſame Month; ſo adviſed them to attend ſuch Buſineſs as might bring the Seſſions to a happy Concluſion.

In the Houſe it was debated and voted by a Majority, to make a Remonſtrance to the King; wherein it ſhould be ſaid, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was the chief Cauſe of all the Miſeries of the Kingdom: But before the Debate was over, a Meſſage came from the King, commanding the Houſe to adjourn till next Day, and all Committees to ceaſe in the mean time. The Lords received the ſame Order.

On the Morrow the Speaker brings another Meſſage from the King, ſetting forth, that he had no Meaning of barring them of what had been their Right, but only to avoid all Scandals on his Council and Actions paſt; and that his Miniſters might not be, nor himſelf, under their Names, taxed for their Counſel to his Majeſty; and that no ſuch Particulars ſhould be taken in hand, as would aſk a longer Time of Conſideration than what he had prefixed.

The Commons being no more ſatisfied with this Meſſage than the former, the Houſe was

was again turned into a Committee, and conſidered of ſome more Heads to be inſerted in the Remonſtrance, particularly the King's Deſign to bring into the Nation foreign Forces. This Complaint was grounded upon a Diſcovery the Houſe had made of a Privy Seal to the Effect following. 1628.

It was directed to the Treaſurer, "to pay "to *Philip Burlemack*, of *London*, Merchant, "30,000 *l.* to be paid by him over by Bill "of Exchange into the *Low Countries* and "*Germany*, unto Sir *William Balfour*, Knight, "and *John Dolbier*, Eſq; or either of them, "for levying and providing certain Num-"bers of Horſes, with Arms for Horſe and "Foot, to be brought over into this King-"dom for his Majeſty's Service."

At the ſame Time the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, to deſire they would join in a Requeſt to the King, that a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer might be given in full Parliament to the Petition of Right; to which the Lords did agree.

Therefore a Petition was preſented to his Majeſty, who, at laſt, gave them a ſatisfactory Anſwer.

The Commons being ſatisfied, the Subſidy Bill and the Conſideration of Grievances went on together; ſo careful were the Commons of ſecuring a Redreſs. The Duke was charged with being the Cauſe of all the Evils to the Kingdom; of the Loſſes at Sea, of Decay of Trade, of the Diſaſters to the Armies, and of countenancing *Arminianiſm* and

1628. and Popery. This was added to the Remonſtrance ſent to the King.

In this Remonſtrance all the National Grievances were particularly ſpecified, and *Buckingham*'s Conduct fully ſet forth; but it made no great Impreſſion upon the King, yet wrought very much upon the Minds of the People.

The Commons prepared another Remonſtrance for Redreſs, as to the Impoſt of Tonnage and Poundage. This was an antient Impoſt upon Merchants Goods exported and imported, which the Parliament uſually granted to the Kings, to enable them to guard the Seas and protect the Trade: But this Remonſtrance was in order to hinder the Crown from uſurping by Degrees this Impoſt, independent of the Parliament; *Charles* having hitherto levied it, without vouchſafing to deſire an Act of Parliament for that Purpoſe.

The King, in a Speech to both Houſes, declared, that as he was informed that the Commons were preparing a Remonſtrance to take away his Tonnage and Poundage, which was an Intrenchment upon his Prerogative; therefore he would hear no Remonſtrance to that Purpoſe, but was forced to put an End to the Seſſions ſome Hours ſooner than he intended. Juſt after the Subſidy Bill was paſſed, the King prorogued the Parliament.

The Parliament intended to grant the King Tonnage and Poundage by an Act, but

but would not have it collected as a Right annexed to the Prerogative-royal: He, on the other hand, was for receiving it independant of the Parliament. 1628.

After the Parliament was ended, the King iſſued a Proclamation to ſuppreſs Dr *Manwaring*'s Sermons, intitled, *Religion and Allegiance*. By another Proclamation, *Richard Smith*, Titular Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, was ordered to be apprehended, with all other Prieſts and Jeſuits that had taken Orders by Authority from the See of *Rome*, and to be committed to the Caſtle of *Wiſbich*. Some Jeſuits were taken up and ſent to *Newgate*. The King ordered, that if they were found guilty, they ſhould be carried to the ſaid Caſtle of *Wiſbich*, in the *Iſle of Ely*. Theſe were all the Proceedings of the Court againſt the Papiſts.

But, on the other hand, the King took a Courſe which gave a much worſe Opinion of his or his Miniſter's Zeal for Religion. 1. He appointed Commiſſioners to compound with Recuſants. 2. Sir *Richard Weſton*, a Papiſt, and known for ſuch, was made Lord Treaſurer, and afterwards Earl of *Portland*. 3. Dr *Laud*, who was reckoned Head of the *Arminians*, was tranſlated from *Bath* and *Wells* to the Biſhoprick of *London*. 4. Dr *Montague*, who had given ſo great Offence by his Book, intitled, *Appeal to Cæſar*, was promoted to the See of *Chicheſter*. *Manwaring* alſo (having with *Montague* procured a Royal Pardon of all Errors) was

1628. was preſented to the Rectory of *Stamford Rivers*, with a Diſpenſation to hold St *Giles*'s *in the Fields*.

The Town of *Rochel* being at this Time cloſely beſieged by the King of *France*, King *Charles* had prepared a Fleet to relieve it; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was to have the Command, was now at *Portſmouth*: but when he was about to embark, he was ſtabbed to the Heart with a Knife, and immediately fell down dead. The Aſſaſſin was one *Felton*, who owned, that after the Declaration of the Commons againſt the Duke, he had looked upon him as an Enemy to his Country, and that this had induced him to commit the Deed. The King was exceedingly concerned at his Death, and his Creatures remained in the ſame Favour.

The *Engliſh* Fleet went; but a Barricado was made, that hindered the *Engliſh* Ships from approaching; ſo were forced to return, having firſt ſeen *Rochel* taken.

Tho' the Remonſtrance concerning Tonnage and Poundage was not yet preſented to the King, it was, however, made publick. Upon this Foundation, *Rolls*, *Chambers*, and *Vaſſal*, three Merchants of *London*, among others, refuſed to pay this Impoſt to the King; but their Goods were ſeized, by Order of the Barons of the Exchequer.

The ſame Parliament being met the 20th of *January*, *Rolls*'s Affair, who was a Member of the Houſe, was laid before them. While they were in Debate, the King ſent a Meſ-

Meſſage for them to deſiſt till next Day in the Afternoon; at which Time he would ſpeak to them at *Whitehall*. 1628.

The King, in his Speech, let them know, that he did not inſiſt of Tonnage and Poundage, as annexed to his Prerogative-royal, but by an Act from them; yet, as he knew they intended to grant it laſt Seſſions, if Time would have permitted, he deſired them to bring in a Bill for that Purpoſe.

Some Days after the King ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, to go upon the Tonnage and Poundage Bill; but they fell upon Matters of Religion. They pretended, that Religion ought to have the Precedence of all other Matters; ſo began to enquire how the Execution of the Laws againſt Papiſts came to ceaſe; and whence it was that Papiſts were employed and countenanced.

Whilſt the Commons were in Debate about religious Matters, the Ware-houſe of Mr *Rolls* was locked up as a Purſevant, and himſelf called out of the Houſe and ſerved with a Subpœna. This put the Houſe all in a Flame, and they reſolved not to proceed with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, till the Goods were reſtored to the Owners; and ordered, that the Barons of the Exchequer ſhould be told to make void their Injunction concerning the Merchants Effects.

The Barons return'd for Anſwer, that they did not, by their Injunctions, determine, or any way touch upon the Right of Tonnage and Poundage; neither did their Or-

1628. Orders bar the Owners to ſue for their Goods in a lawful Courſe: But as the Merchants endeavoured to take their Goods by way of Replevin, it was no lawful Courſe in the King's Caſe; ſo they iſſued an Injunction to the Sheriffs, commanding them not to execute the ſaid Writ.

Upon this the Houſe was turned into a grand Committee, and, at laſt, reſolved that Mr *Rolls* ought to have Privilege of Perſon and Goods; which being voted, the Speaker was moved to put the Queſtion: but he refuſed to do it, ſaying, the King had commanded the contrary.

Such a Command ſurprized the Houſe, who were adjourned till the 2d of *March*. On that Day the Commons being met, and requiring the Speaker to put the Queſtion, he ſaid, "I have a Command from the "King to adjourn the Houſe till the 10th "of *March*." And endeavouring to go out of the Chair, he was held down by Force, till Sir *John Elliot* had drawn up a Proteſtation, which was approved by the Majority, tho' not without great Tumult and Confuſion, and even ſome Blows.

The COMMONS *Proteſtation.*

I. WHoſoever ſhall bring in Innovation of Religion, or, by Favour or Countenance, ſeem to extend or introduce Popery or *Armimanism*, or other Opinion diſagreeing to the Truth, and orthodox Church,

ſhall

ſhall be reputed a capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Commonwealth. 1625.

II. Whoſoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking or levying of the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or ſhall be an Actor or Inſtrument therein, ſhall be likewiſe reputed an Innovator in the Government, and a capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Commonwealth.

III. If any Merchant, or Perſon whatſoever, ſhall voluntarily yield or pay the ſaid Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of *England*, and an Enemy to the ſame.

Next Day Warrants were directed from the Council to ſeveral of the Members, commanding their perſonal Appearance on the Morrow. Four of them, *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine*, appeared; and, refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament what was ſaid and done in Parliament, were committed cloſe Priſoners to the Tower. The Council ordered, at the ſame Time, the Studies of *Hollis* and *Elliot* to be ſealed up.

As the King expected no Supply of Money from this ſecond Seſſions, he was very glad of having, as he thought, a plauſible Pretence to diſſolve the Parliament; ſo coming to the Parliament-houſe, he made a Speech to the Lords, there being but few Commons preſent. His Speech was full of

1629. Reflections againſt the Commons that were of the Country Party; and theſe he termed *Vipers*, who were to look for their Reward of Puniſhment: but the Lords received his good Graces. Then the Lord Keeper diſſolved the Parliament.

Soon after the King took all the Judges Opinions, as to the Caſe of the impriſoned Members; and as their Determinations were looked upon as favourable, the Attorney-General exhibited, in the Star-chamber, an Information againſt them.

Alderman *Chambers*, one that refuſed to pay Tonnage and Poundage, was condemned in an exorbitant Fine, for ſaying, "That the "Merchants were more ſcrewed up and "wrung in *England* than in *Turky*." By which, and ſome other Oppreſſions, he was reduced to a low Condition.

Walter Long, Eſq; being choſen Member, tho' he was made Sheriff by Artifice, as before has been mentioned, preferred his Country's Good, ſo went to Parliament. He was now fined 2000 Merks for breaking his Oath, by abſenting himſelf from his County.

The Members were continued in Priſon from the Beginning of *March* till the Beginning of *October*, without either being tried, or able to obtain the Benefit of a *Habeas Corpus*.

The Members refuſed any other Plea than to the Juriſdiction of the Court; upon which the Court of King's Bench gave Judgment againſt them by *Nihil Dicit*. They were to be

be impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure; and *Elliot* was fined 2000 *l.* *Hollis* 1000 Merks, and *Valentine* 500 *l.* 1629.

The King's Conduct bred great Diſcontents amongſt the People. Libels were diſperſed about *London* againſt the King's Counſellors; particularly againſt Biſhop *Laud* and the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, who were accuſed of putting the King upon theſe violent Proceedings. *Charles* finding the People were in Diſcontent, iſſued a long Declaration to the Publick.

In this Declaration he took Care to juſtify himſelf as much as he poſſibly could in all his Proceedings, and to lay the Blame upon the Parliament: But it made no Impreſſion upon the Minds of the People; the common Cry was, "That Trade was ruined, "and Religion in Danger; and that the "Kingdom was going to fall into Slavery, "if a new Parliament did not apply a Re-"medy to theſe Misfortunes." The King being informed of theſe Rumours, iſſued out a Proclamation to the Effect following.

"That thoſe who raiſed or nouriſhed "falſe Reports, ſhould be ſeverely puniſh-"ed; and ſuch as go chearfully on with "their Trades, ſhould have good Encou-"ragement: That his Majeſty hath ſhewed, "by his frequent meeting with his People, "his Love to the Uſe of Parliaments; yet "the late Abuſe having, for the preſent, "driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that "Courſe, he ſhall account it Preſumption

"for

1629. "for any to prescribe any Time to his Ma-
"jesty for Parliaments; the calling, con-
"tinuing, and dissolving of which, being al-
"ways in the King's own Power."

Rochel being taken, the King did not think proper to continue any longer a War with *France*; so Peace was concluded.

Charles I. like the King, his Father, was very fond of arbitrary Power, and had no Favourites or Ministers but what were of the same Principles. His Privy Council set up, by Degrees, for an absolute Court. The Star-chamber was another Court, the most rigorous that ever was; the Severity whereof fell chiefly upon those who pretended to dispute the Prerogative-royal. The High Commission was perfectly of a Piece with the Council and Star-chamber. The Judges of the Realm being all chosen by the Court, and devoted to the King, omitted no Opportunity to support the Prerogative-royal. The Parliament only could cure those Disorders; but the King was determined to call no more, the Maxims of the Parliament being diametrically opposite to his. By this the Standard of all the Blessings, which both King and People should enjoy, became shaken: And as the Head can't subsist without the Body; neither can a King of this Nation be long supported by any other Nourishment, than what flows, without Constraint, from the Body of his People whom the Parliament represent, as was plainly proved in this very Reign.

As

As the Payment of Tonnage and Poundage was looked upon by the Merchants as illegal, they practiſed a thouſand Artifices to defraud the King: Alſo the People pleaded either Poverty or Decay of Trade, or ſome ſuch Excuſe, to elude the Tax of the five Subſidies; which occaſioned a great Diminution of the true Value of them. To cure theſe Inconveniences, the Council iſſued out ſtrict Orders, which impowered the Officers of the Cuſtoms to enter into any Ship, Veſſel, or Houſe, and to ſearch in any Trunk or Cheſt, and break any Bulk whatſoever, in Default of Payment of the Cuſtoms. Theſe Officers, under colour of ſearching, uſed a great many Oppreſſions and Rogueries, which made People exclaim the more. 1630.

But, to hinder their Diſcontent from breaking out into a Rebellion, the Council gave ſtrict Orders to have the Militia, both Horſe and Foot, compleated, armed, and inſtructed in the Exerciſe of Arms: And, to amuſe them a little, they iſſued out Orders for the rigorous Execution of the Laws againſt Recuſants; but theſe Orders muſt needs have been neglected, ſince the Peoples Complaints, upon this Occaſion, never ceaſed during the whole Courſe of this Reign.

The King, as he ſaw he was like to want Money, granted Monopolies; that is to ſay, by Letters Patent formed Companies, to whom alone he gave the Privilege of ſelling cer-

1630. certain Goods and Wares, and who were to pay him for it ſuch a yearly Revenue. This was directly contrary to the Rights of the People, and deſtructive to Trade. This Abuſe went ſo far, that in a manner all ſorts of Commodities were monopolized, and the Sale thereof engroſſed by ſome Companies, even to old Rags.

The War with *Spain* was never carried to any great Length, tho' it was often made a Handle to raiſe Money: However, *Charles*, at this Time, concluded a Peace with the *Spaniards*.

Preſbyterianiſm had lately gained a great deal of Ground in *England*; tho' *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*, and the King's moſt intimate Counſellor, in Eccleſiaſtical Matters eſpecially, was their ſworn Enemy. This made them entertain an implacable Enmity againſt this Prelate, the Effects whereof he felt afterwards.

This Year the Queen was delivered of a Son, named *Charles*.

It was ſaid before, that every Perſon that had 40 *l.* a-year, was ſummoned to the Order of Knighthood. As but very few had obeyed this Summons, not thinking themſelves obliged, the King appointed Commiſſioners to compound with them: By this he raiſed above 100,000 *l.* which the People looked upon as a grievous Oppreſſion. The Parliament afterwards repealed the Statute it was grounded upon.

The King, by Proclamation, commanded all

all Lords, Gentlemen, Clergymen, and o- 1631.
thers, whoſe Stay in *London* was not abſo-
lutely neceſſary, to go, within 40 Days, and reſide in their reſpective Countries, and at their Manſion-houſes. Such as neglected to obey this Proclamation, were ſummoned before the Star-chamber, and condemned in grievous Fines to the King's Uſe.

About the ſame Time the City of *London* was fined 1500 Merks, becauſe the Mayor and Aldermen had neglected to take Inquiſition of the Death of one Dr *Lamb*, who had paſſed for a Conjurer.

The Preſbyterians were very much againſt the Regal Authority; for which Reaſon all thoſe of the Church of *England*, who were not ſubmiſſive enough to the King, were looked upon as Puritans, and frequently oppreſſed as ſuch: So, by a fatal Policy, Men, well affected to the Church of *England*, but Enemies to arbitrary Power, were obliged to ſide with the Puritans, to ſtrengthen their Party. From this Puritaniſm gained many Friends; and never made ſo great a Progreſs as during the firſt fifteen Years of this Reign, tho' it had never been more perſecuted, and the Papiſts were not dealt with ſo rigourouſly. Hence it happened, that by confounding the State Puritans with the Church Puritans, they drove, as I may ſay, the firſt to ſide with the laſt.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *York*, who had often in Parliament expreſſed his Zeal for the Liberties

1632. berties of the People, and the Privileges of Parliament, was looked upon to be one of the greateſt Geniuſes then in *England*. The King ſoon perceived his Parts and Capacity might be of great Service to him. *Wentworth* was, at laſt, brought over, and became one of the greateſt Sticklers for the Royal Authority, or rather for the Deſpotick Power the King had a-mind to ſet up. After this he was intruſted with the Preſidentſhip of the Council in the North.

The Juriſdiction of this Court, called *The Court of* York, extended over *Yorkſhire*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, the Counties of the Cities of *York*, *Kingſton upon Hull*, and *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*.

The King's Commiſſion was no other than a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; only it had a Clauſe at the End, whereby the Council was empowered to hear all Cauſes, real and perſonal, in caſe one or both of the Parties, by reaſon of their Poverty, could not proſecute their Rights elſewhere. This Court of Juſtice was eſtabliſhed at *York* in King *Henry* VIII.'s Time, upon the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries: But King *Charles* gave *Wentworth* a more unlimited Power than any of his Predeceſſors had ever received.

The King having govern'd three or four Years without a Parliament, was very much at Eaſe and undiſturbed. His Will, by Degrees, began to paſs for Law. There was no

no Houſe of Commons to be ſo bold as to complain publickly; and he ſaw none about him, but ſuch as were always ready to flatter him, and keep him in his Principles concerning Government. He was freed from the Expence of War: And tho' he knew the People were in general diſcontented; yet he did not ſee any Likelihood of a Rebellion. This made him think of going into *Scotland*, where important Matters required his Preſence. 1. He had a-mind to be crowned. 2. He intended to hold a Parliament, to get Money. 3. He deſigned to take ſome Meaſures to reduce the Kirk of *Scotland* to a perfect Conformity with the Church of *England*, and entirely root out Preſbyterianiſm. To this End he took with him *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*; and, at his Arrival in *Scotland*, made him a Privy Counſeller of that Kingdom. He went from *London* in *May* 1633; and, being come to *Edinburgh*, was crowned with the uſual Solemnities. After that he held a Parliament, which gave him the largeſt Subſidy that had ever been granted to any King of *Scotland* before. 1633.

The King made ſome Steps towards his third Deſign; but the Oppoſition he met with let him ſee, that it was not Time yet to act openly; but that it was neceſſary to take ſome other Meaſures to pave the Way to his Deſigns.

But in *England* all poſſible Endeavours were uſed to root out the Puritans, who

1633. were perſecuted to the utmoſt: But as the Biſhops could not be every where, and as they wanted People to inform them of what paſſed, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* took it into his Head, in his primary Viſitation, to oblige the Church-wardens and ſworn Men to turn Informers, that none might eſcape their Enquiry, and gave them Inſtructions in Writing how to act.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying this Year, *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*, ſucceeded him in that Dignity.

The ſame Year the Queen was brought to Bed of a ſecond Son, who was called *James*, and created Duke of *York*.

It was now generally conjectured, that a Deſign was on foot to reſtore the *Roman* Religion. It was found in a Diary which *Laud* kept of what happened to him every Day, that this very Year he had the Offer of a Cardinal's Cap, if he would help to reſtore the *Roman* Religion. Be this as it will, it is certain the Preſbyterians uſed all their Endeavours to make it believed, that the Court and Biſhops intended to eſtabliſh Popery.

The Preſbyterians, who were looked upon as the greateſt Enemies to Popery, were furiouſly oppreſſed and perſecuted, whilſt the *Arminians* and Papiſts were ſuffered to live unmoleſted. Hence it was inferred, that the Court proceeded with ſo much Heat againſt that Sect, only to make Way, by their Deſtruction, to the Reſtoration of Popery.

The

The King ordered, that divine Service should be celebrated in his Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh*, in the same Manner as in his Chapel at *Whitehall*; and that the Lords of the Privy Council, the Lords of the Session, the Advocates, Clerks, Writers to the Signet, and Members of the College of Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion once every Year, at least, in that our Chapel-royal; and kneeling, for Example sake to the Kingdom: and the Dean was to make a Report yearly, how this Order was obeyed. 1633.

The Dean and Chapter of St *Paul*'s at *London*, as Ordinaries of St *Gregory*'s Church, which stood close to the Wall of the Cathedral, removed the Communion-table from the Middle of the Chancel, where it had long stood, to the Upper End, placing it there Altarwise. This was much complained of, and, at last, to the King. *Charles* having declared, that he would confirm what was done, this Example was followed in several other Churches, which raised a great Suspicion, that Popery, by Degrees, was to be introduced: For, after the Reformation, the Altars were changed into Communion-tables, and placed in the Middle of the Chancel, to avoid Superstition. Many imagined that the Tables were turned again into Altars, in order to revive a superstitious Worship.

William Pryn, Barrister at Law, was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for publishing

1634. a Book, intitled, *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*. The Author's main Drift was to ſhew, that Stage Plays, Balls, Maſques, were unlawful and antichriſtian; but, in handling theſe Subjects, he had interſperſed ſundry Reflections, which might be applied to the King, the Queen, the Church, who approved and tolerated thoſe Abuſes. His Sentence was, That he ſhould be expelled *Lincoln's-Inn*, diſabled to practiſe, degraded of his Degree in *Oxford*, ſet on the Pillory, have his Ears cut off, impriſoned during Life, and fined 5000 *l.* The Printer was fined 500 *l.* This Sentence ſeemed too ſevere to abundance of diſintereſted Perſons. It mortified the Preſbyterians eſpecially, moſt of whom were of the ſame Principles with *Pryn*.

Notwithſtanding, the Court, the Council, the Miniſters, the Star-chamber, the High Commiſſion, the principal Heads of the Church of *England*, the *Arminians* and Papiſts, the Lord-Lieutenants of the Counties, the Judges of the Realm, and all the Magiſtrates in general, were againſt the Preſbyterians; yet they daily gained Ground, which was occaſioned by the impolitick Meaſures the Court took, by looking upon them all as Puritans, who did not ſhew Submiſſion enough to the King, or would not allow Extent enough to the Prerogative-royal, and oppreſſing them as ſuch. This made ſuch of the Church of *England* as were againſt arbitrary Power, and the Preſbyterians, join and unite into one Party.

The

The King, this Year, directed a Writ to the Mayors and Head Officers of the maritime Towns. The Writ directed to the Mayor of *London* was to the Effect following: That they ſhould bring to *Portſmouth*, by the 1ſt of *March* next, at the City's Expence, ſeven large Ships of War, ready fitted out with Men, able and ſkilful, and all warlike Proviſions, and Victuals for 26 Weeks, under Pretence that they were to guard the Seas, and protect the Merchants. The Mayor had Power to levy a Tax on the Inhabitants of *London* for that Purpoſe. 1635.

The Mayor, upon the Receipt of this Writ, aſſembled the Common Council, who agreed to preſent a Petition to the King to the following Effect.

They inform'd his Majeſty, that they conceived, that by ancient Privileges, Grants, and Acts of Parliament, they were exempt and freed from the Charge contained in his Majeſty's Writ.

Archbiſhop *Laud* kept a Correſpondence with the Biſhops of *Scotland*, concerning the Liturgy and Canons he deſigned to introduce into the Kirk: He alſo laboured with the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians; and ordered, that thoſe within his Dioceſe ſhould repair to their ſeveral Pariſh Churches, to hear divine Service and Sermon.

The Preſbyterians petitioned the Archbiſhop to let them have the Privileges which had been granted to their Congregations, and

1635. and continued to them in the Reigns of *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*, and *James* I. and confirmed by his preſent Majeſty's Royal Word; but they could get no favourable Anſwer from him.

The King being always in want of Money, the Attorney-General preſented an Information in the Star-chamber againſt ſeveral Hundreds of Perſons, Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Ladies, and others, for diſobeying his Majeſty's Proclamation; by which they were commanded not to ſtay and reſide in *London*. This raiſed Money, either by Fine, or Compoſition, or both.

The Tax to provide and maintain a certain Number of Ships to guard the Seas, was impoſed on the maritime Towns only for the Year 1635; but the King ſent Writs for Ship-Money all over the Kingdom for the Year 1636.

The People were much diſcontented, and many refuſed to pay this Ship-Money, as contrary to Law; which the King perceiving, and finding Actions were brought againſt thoſe that levied it, he ſent to the Judges of the Realm, and required their Opinion. As the Judges wholly depended upon the Court, they very readily decided the Matter for the King, and gave him their Opinion in Writing.

This Year the King renewed a former Commiſſion, to confirm the defective Titles of ſuch as held Lands of the Crown. This was a Scheme to get Money; for all were obli-

obliged to produce their Deeds; and tho' never ſo ſtrong, the Commiſſioners made ſome Objections to them: ſo they were obliged to give each a Sum of Money to ſecure their Lands. 1636.

Shortly after the King iſſued a Proclamation, commanding all Perſons, except Soldiers, Mariners, Merchants, and their Factors, not to depart out of the Kingdom without his Licence.

The Office of Lord Treaſurer, which had been executed by Commiſſioners ever ſince the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, was conferred on Dr *William Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, who diſcharged it worthily.

This Year was brought to the King one *Par*, an old Man, of 150 Years, and in perfect Health.

The Elector *Palatine*, and Prince *Robert*, his Brother, arrived in *England* about this Time, to viſit the King, their Uncle, and were lodged in the Palace.

The Preſbyterians were ſtill plagued. One *Ward*, a Miniſter at *Ipſwich*, had preached againſt the King's *Book of Sports*; and further ſaid, that the Church of *England* was ready to ring Changes in Religion; for which he was ſuſpended and committed to Priſon. The Church-wardens of *Beckington*, in *Somerſetſhire*, refuſing to place the Communion table otherwiſe than it had been for 60 Years, were excommunicated by the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. They appealed to the Arches; but their Appeal was rejected.

1636. jected. Then they petitioned the King, with the ſame Succeſs.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* reſolved to go and viſit the Univerſities as Metropolitan. He met with ſome Oppoſition; the Univerſities maintaining, that he had not the Right of viſiting as Archbiſhop; tho' they did not deny but he might do it by the King's Commiſſion. The Caſe was brought before the King, who decided it in favour of *Laud*.

For a better Pretence for raiſing the Ship-Money, he iſſued a Proclamation, reſtraining all, except his natural-born Subjects, from fiſhing upon any of the Coaſts of any of his Dominions.

The *Hollanders* had uſed, for 30 Years, to fiſh for Herrings on the Coaſt of *Scotland*: But the King ſent a Fleet, commanded by *Algernoon*, Earl of *Northumberland*; which falling upon the diſperſed Fiſhermen, who little expected any ſuch Thing, and ſinking ſome, compelled the reſt to retire into the *Engliſh* Harbours. He made them pay 30,000 Florins, for Permiſſion to go on with their Fiſhing that Summer.

Shortly after the King got 30,000 Pounds by a Commiſſion to enquire concerning Depopulations and Converſions of Arable Lands to Paſture, ſince the 10th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*.

There being ſeveral Actions depending about Ship-Money, the King thought it proper to publiſh the Judges Opinion, which had

had been determined in his Favour. *Bramſton*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Hutton*, *Jones*, *Crooke*, *Trevor*, *Vernon*, *Crawley*, *Berkley*, and *Weſton*, were the Judges; but *Hutton* and *Crooke* were not of the Opinion with the reſt, but were prevailed upon to ſign. 1636.

Notwithſtanding this Opinion, there was one Mr *Hampden* choſe rather to be condemned than pay voluntarily. This Caſe was argued in the Exchequer before all the Judges in *England*, who were ſent for to render the Judgment more ſolemn and authentick; tho' the Buſineſs was only to decide, whether Mr *Hampden* was to pay Twenty Shillings or not? It was, however, the moſt important Caſe that had ever been argued in any Court of Juſtice.

The Point in queſtion was, whether the King had Power to tax the Subject, without the Concurrence of the Parliament? The Council on both Sides diſplay'd all their Wit and Learning. There were ſome who pleaded four Days together.

After the Cauſe had been argued many Days, from the Beginning of *November* till *Chriſtmas*, and in the next Terms till the Months of *May* and *June*, Judgment was given againſt Mr *Hampden*.

The King being now determined to put in execution his Deſigns upon the Kirk of *Scotland*, paved his Way, 1. By renewing the High Commiſſion, firſt introduced by his Father into that Kingdom. 2. He had aboliſhed, in a manner, the General Aſſem-

1637. blies, as not allowing any after he aſcended the Throne. 3. He had ſupported and countenanced the Biſhops to ſuch a Degree, that they had the Clergy entirely in their Power. 4. He had gained a great Number of the Miniſters, by Means of Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Offices, which were only granted to ſuch as he could depend upon. 5. He had filled the Council of *Scotland* in ſuch a Manner, that there was ſcarce a Privy-Counſellor, but what was engaged beforehand to promote his Deſigns. 6. There wasin this Council ſeveral Biſhops; and the Archbiſhop of St *Andrew*'s was veſted with the Chancellorſhip, which is the prime Office of the Kingdom. 7. He had made ſure of the Lords of Seſſion; that is, of the College of Juſtice: and, in a word, of all thoſe who had Places depending upon the Court. 8. He had charged *Laud* to hold continual Correſpondence with the Biſhops and Council of *Scotland*. It ſeemed then impoſſible that the King ſhould meet with any Oppoſition from a ſcattered People, without Leaders, without Support, and deſtitute of the Aſſiſtance of their Magiſtrates.

With all theſe Advantages *Charles* took in hand this grand Deſign; and, after a Reviſal of the Liturgy, he ſent it back into *Scotland*, with Orders to get it received in the Kirk: But, that it might not be exactly the Liturgy of another Kingdom, he ordered, that inſtead of the *Engliſh* Verſion of the Pſalms, and of the Epiſtles and Goſpels, the

Scots

Scots Tranſlation ſhould be inſerted in the Liturgy of *Scotland*; which was all the Difference betwixt the two. 1637.

Whilſt the Liturgy was in hand, he ſent into *Scotland* a Book of Canons for the Government of the Kirk; and theſe Canons enjoined a Conformity to the Liturgy, tho' it was not yet made publick. One may be ſurprized, that the King and his Miniſters would be guilty of ſuch a Blunder.

The Council cauſed it to be publiſhed in all the Churches of *Edinburgh*, that the Liturgy would be read the *Sunday* following; and the next *Sunday* all the Great Men repaired to St *Giles*'s Church, the Cathedral of the City. When the Dean began to open the Book to read the Liturgy, the meaner ſort of People, with clapping of Hands, Execrations, and Outcries, raiſed ſo hideous a Noiſe, that there was no hearing a Word. Whereupon the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, who was to preach, ſtepping into the Pulpit, with Thoughts to appeaſe the People, was received with the ſame Clamour and Imprecations, and was in Danger of being knocked down by a Stool that was thrown at his Head. The Lord Chancellor and Judges found no more Reverence. At laſt the Provoſt and Bailies of the City came from their Places, and, with much Difficulty, thruſt out of the Church the enraged Populace; and, ſhutting the Doors, the Dean proceeded in reading the Liturgy, tho' continually interrupted by the Noiſe without,

and

1637. and the Stones that they threw in at the Windows.

There was the like Tumults in all the reſt of the Churches of *Edinburgh*, and yet no Body was killed or wounded. This made the Magiſtrates write to *Laud*, to repreſent this Affair to the King.

Harveſt Time approaching, many People left *Edinburgh*, and went into the Country. The Magiſtrates of the City prayed the Council, that the Liturgy might not be read; becauſe they had obſerved, that the People were not yet diſpoſed to receive it. After Harveſt was over, a great Concourſe of People flocked to *Edinburgh*: Whereupon the Council iſſued Proclamations, to order all Strangers to leave the City within 24 Hours.

On the Morrow the People flocked together in a tumultuous Manner; and ſeeing the Biſhop of *Galloway*, as he was going to the Council, a great Multitude followed him all the Way with continual Curſings; however, did him no Hurt. They even beſet the Council-houſe; and they were forced to ſend to the Magiſtrates to come to their Relief.

They returned Anſwer, that they were themſelves ſurrounded in their Council-houſe by their own Citizens, who threatened to tear them in Pieces, if they didnot ſign a Paper; which, for fear of their Lives, they were forced to do. The Paper contained theſe three Things. 1. That the Magiſtrates ſhould

should join with the People in petitioning against the Liturgy. 2. That, by their Authority, they should presently restore to their Pulpits *Ramsay* and *Rollock*, two Ministers much beloved by the People. 3. That they should restore to his Place one *Henderson*, a silenced Reader. Upon this the Earls of *Traquaire* and *Wigton*, the first of whom was Lord Treasurer, came to consult the Magistrates what was to be done; but, as they were returning to the Council, they were insulted by the Populace. The Earl of *Traquaire* was thrown down; his Hat, Cloak, and white Staff, taken from him; the People crying out, *God defend all those who will defend God's Cause.* 1637.

Presently after the Provost came to the Council, and declared all he could do would not appease the People. At last the Lords of the Council applied to the Nobility and Gentry, who were now assembled to sign a Petition against the Service-Book; and they having more Interest with the Populace, got them to retire; and not a Man was either killed or wounded: However, it plainly appeared, that the Mutineers were countenanced by several Lords and Gentlemen, as well as by the best sort of Citizens.

After this the Council issued a Proclamation forbidding all Meetings in the Streets; but the Malcontents being no way terrified, sent their Deputies to the Board, to require, that the silenced Ministers might be restored. Shortly after, the Lord Chancellor received

two

1638. two Petitions; one in the Name of all the Men, Women, and Children of *Edinburgh*; the other from the Noblemen, Gentry, and Burgeſſes of the ſame City, againſt the Liturgy and Book of Canons.

The King did not think fit to anſwer the Petitions, being, on the contrary, determined to puniſh ſeverely the Authors of the late Tumults; but ſent a Proclamation, in which was contained, that he would be moſt careful that nothing be allowed within his Majeſty's Dominions, but that which ſhall tend to the Advancement of true Religion, as it is at preſent profeſſed within his moſt ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*.

The Malcontents, upon theſe general Expreſſions, inferred, that the King was very far from giving over what he had taken in hand: For which Reaſon they reſolved to take Meaſures, not only to ſcreen themſelves from the King's Reſentment; but alſo to cauſe all the Innovations complained of to be aboliſhed.

Some Time after the Council having removed the Seſſion to *Stirling*, the King ſent thither another Proclamation, with Orders to be publickly read in the principal Towns of the Kingdom.

His Proclamation diſcharged all Meetings for the Time to come, under the Pain of Treaſon; yet pardoned all that was paſt, but ſaid not a Word in anſwer to their Petitions.

The Malcontents were not ſo ſtupid as to be ignorant of the King's Deſign; ſo, of th

the Morrow, the Earls of *Hume* and *Lindſay*, accompanied with a great Crowd of Nobles and People, came and publickly read in *Stirling* a Proteſtation againſt the Proclamation, and againſt the Liturgy; the Preſence and Authority of the Council not being able to hinder it. The ſame was alſo publickly read at *Linlithgow* and *Edinburgh*. 1638.

Before they could know what Effect this Proteſtation had upon the King, as they expected no Good from the Court, they erected at *Edinburgh*, which was at their Devotion, ſeveral Tables to manage their Affairs. There were four principal ones; the firſt of the Lords, the ſecond of the Gentry, the third of the Burroughs, the fourth of the Miniſters. Theſe Tables conſulted of what they thought fit to be propoſed at the General Table, conſiſting of Commiſſioners choſen from the other four Tables. Never was Sovereign more punctually obeyed than this General Table, by all that were againſt the Innovations.

The firſt Thing that came forth from theſe Tables, was the famous Covenant; that is, the Confederacy enter'd into by the *Scots* for Maintenance of their Religion from all Innovations.

This Covenant, like an Alarm-bell, brought all the *Scots* together that were diſſatisfied with the Government. The Royal Party had not above one in a thouſand on their Side: So that the King, Council, Judges, and

1638. and Biſhops, were on a ſudden without Authority or Power.

The King was ſtill in Hopes, that the Storm that was gathering might, by ſome Artifice, be diſpelled; ſo prepoſſeſſed was he in favour of the Royal Authority. The King had alſo in his favour the Laws that had been made within 40 Years laſt paſt; but the People believed it was their Duty to aboliſh theſe Laws, which Corruption, Artifice, and Violence had impoſed upon them; complaining, that theſe new Laws were enacted in violation of the old. Thus both Sides complained of the Breach of the Laws.

The Malcontents ſaid, that *James* and *Charles* had eſtabliſhed Epiſcopal Government in the Kirk, contrary to her Conſent; who ought to have been conſulted in ſuch an Affair, which concerned Religion alone, and which could not be decided but by the General-Aſſembly. They thought themſelves therefore authorized, by virtue of their Privileges, to demand the Reſtoration of Religion in its Purity, ſuch as it was in 1580, and the Abolition of all Innovations. The Deſign of their Covenant was not to rob the King of his juſt Rights, as ſome would fain have made him believe; but to hinder him from ſtretching his Prerogative beyond what the Law allowed.

The King alledged, on his Part, that the *Scots*, under the falſe Pretence that their Privileges were violated, were hurried into open Re-

Rebellion, and refuſed to pay the King due Obedience, in ſigning a League directly contrary to the Rights of the Crown, and uſurping a Power repugnant to the Laws. He ſaid, that Epiſcopacy had been eſtabliſhed in the Church of *Scotland* Time out of Mind, tho' it had been under a ſort of an Eclipſe ſince the Reformation: That Preſbyterian Government had been eſtabliſhed by the Authority of General Aſſemblies only, who were not Sovereigns, and whoſe Decrees were of no Force, unleſs confirmed by King and Parliament: That he had no Deſign to introduce Popery, nor had any thing in view, but the Good and Benefit of his Subjects of *Scotland*. 1638.

Things being thus, the King reſolved to ſend the Marquis of *Hamilton* into *Scotland*, to repreſent his Perſon under the Title of his *High Commiſſioner*. He imagined this *Scots* Lord, being veſted with ſo eminent a Character, would be able, by his Credit and Induſtry, to bring back the People to their Duty, without giving them any real Satisfaction, being ſtill very unwilling to give over his Project.

The Tables having Notice of this, made no Queſtion but the King's Aim was to amuſe them: ſo the High Commiſſioner was coldly received; and they prepared to withſtand him vigorouſly, in caſe he offered to aſſert his Authority.

The King having ſent a Ship laden with Arms for *Edinburgh* Caſtle, the Tables re-

1638. ſolved to ſeize them, not doubting but the King intended to ſurprize them. The King's Party having Notice, carried the Arms to *Dalkeith*, where the Council then was. At the ſame Time the Malcontents received two Ships full of Arms for their Service.

The High Commiſſioner being come to *Edinburgh*, offered theſe three Propoſitions to the Conſideration of the Malcontents.

I. What they ſhould expect to hear in the King's Name for accommodating their Grievances.

II. What might be expected from them for returning to their Obedience.

III. That they ſhould renounce and deliver up their late Covenant.

To which they anſwered,

I. That they inſiſted upon a General-Aſſembly and a Parliament.

II. That they could not return to his Majeſty's Obedience, ſince they had never departed from it.

III. That they would ſooner renounce their Baptiſm than the Covenant.

The Marquis had brought with him a Declaration, which he was not to make Uſe of but in caſe of Neceſſity; and the Purport was, that he would, neither now nor hereafter, preſs the Practice of the Service Book, or the ſaid Canons, nor any thing of that Nature, but in ſuch a fair and legal Way as ſhall

ſhall ſatisfy all our loving Subjects, that we neither intend Innovation in Religion or Laws: And as for the High Commiſſion, we ſhall ſo rectify it, with the Help and Advice of our Privy-Council, that it ſhall never be a juſt Grievance to our loyal Subjects. 1638.

The King muſt needs have been ill informed how the *Scots* ſtood affected, to imagine, that a Declaration, with ſo many Reſtrictions and ambiguous Expreſſions, could be capable of ſatisfying them.

This was no ſooner read in the Market-place, but the Tables cauſed an Anſwer, in form of a Proteſtation, to be publickly read. The Subſtance was,

That no Proclamation or Declaration could ſettle their Fears: That they poſitively inſiſted upon a General-Aſſembly, and a Parliament; which the King did not promiſe to call: That this Proclamation did not diſallow nor diſcharge any of the Innovations complained of: That it plainly evidenced his Majeſty's Intentions of preſſing the Practice of thoſe Innovations in a legal Way; that is, he meant, according to thoſe Laws which were the Subject of their Complaints: That his Majeſty did not promiſe to aboliſh, but only to rectify the High Commiſſion.

The High Commiſſioner being better informed of the Affairs of *Scotland*, by what he had ſeen with his own Eyes, thought it neceſſary to go in Perſon and acquaint the King therewith. He made then a Journey to Court, and returned preſently after, with

Power

1638. Power to call a General-Aſſemby and a Parliament: But, as for the Aſſemby, he would know before-hand what Perſons it ſhould be compoſed of, and what Matters were to be there debated. The Tables rejected this Limitation, as tending to render the Aſſembly uſeleſs.

The High Commiſſioner found it was not eaſy to over-reach them; yet, to puſh his Intention further, he propoſed ſome Articles, the Subſtance whereof follows.

That no Laicks ſhould have Voices in chuſing the Miniſters to be ſent from the ſeveral Preſbyteries to the General-Aſſembly, nor none elſe but the Miniſters of the ſame Preſbyteries: That the Aſſembly ſhould not go about to determine of Things eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, otherwiſe than by Remonſtrance, or Petition to the Parliament.

The Tables rejected theſe Conditions, looking upon them as ſo many Snares to ſurprize them, ſince they could not accept them, without delivering themſelves up to the King's Mercy: For it was plainly ſeen, ever ſince the *Glaſgow* Aſſembly in 1610, that the King could ſecure a Majority of Votes among the Miniſters.

The High Commiſſioner plainly perceiving he had to deal with Men who were upon their Guard, reſolved on a ſecond Journey to *England*; but, withall, he let the Malcontents know, he would endeavour to perſuade

ſuade the King to grant a General-Aſſembly, ſuch as they deſired. 1638.

During his Abſence, the Tables expecting nothing but new Snares or freſh Delays, reſolved, that a General-Aſſembly ſhould be held on the 22d of *September*. In this Interval they ſent to all the Preſbyteries Directions in eight Articles, not to chuſe any ſuſpected Miniſter; and to elect every where Lay-Elders, who ſhould be Perſons of Authority, and in greater Number than the Miniſters. In a word, they took all poſſible Meaſures to have an Aſſembly at their Devotion.

The High Commiſſioner being returned to *Scotland* with new Inſtructions, immediately ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed, containing in Subſtance theſe three principal Articles.

I. That his Majeſty revoked the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, the High Commiſſion, and the five Articles of *Perth*.

II. That, for the future, none of his Subjects, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, ſhould be liable to the Trial and Cenſure of the Parliament or General-Aſſembly.

III. That Perſons of all Ranks ſhould be required to ſign the Confeſſion of Faith of 1580, with the Oath he had annexed.

After the publiſhing this Proclamation, the High Commiſſioner conveened a General Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*.

'Twas

1638 'Twas not without Reaſon, that the Malcontents expected ſome new Snare from the King. Tho' the Confeſſion of Faith, which the King ordered to be ſigned, was exactly the ſame with that before the Covenant; yet the Oath annexed ran, that they ſwore to maintain the Religion at preſent profeſſed: which was utterly deſtroying the Oath of the Covenant, whereby the Subſcribers were bound to reject all the Innovations introduced ſince 1580.

This made the Tables cauſe a Proteſtation againſt the Proclamation be publickly read: That by certain ambiguous Clauſes, Reſtrictions, and Additions, he took away with one Hand what he gave with the other; and reſerved Liberty to maintain, at a more convenient Seaſon, the Innovations he ſeemed to depart from.

The High Commiſſioner and Council, however, uſed all Endeavours to make the People ſign the Confeſſion of Faith, as the King had ſent it; and the Tables did all they could to hinder it.

A vaſt Number of Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, Miniſters, and Burgeſſes, who were not deputed to the General-Aſſembly, brought to the Preſbytery of *Edinburgh* an Information againſt all the Biſhops. The Deſign of this Information was to prevail with the Preſbytery to cite, as they did indeed, the Biſhops to appear before the Aſſembly which was going to be held at *Glaſgow*.

The General-Aſſembly met at *Glaſgow*, con-

consisting of such Members as the Tables desired, or rather prescribed: Wherefore, the High Commissioner's main Design was visibly to raise Contests and Disputes, which should afford him a Handle to dissolve the Assembly. 1638.

After settling some proper Rules for the Assembly to be directed by, the High Commissioner protested against their Proceedings, seeing the Tables had a Majority, and could act as they pleased. At last it was moved in the Assembly to debate, whether the Bishop's Cause should be judged? The High Commissioner rose up and said, since they pretended to take upon them to judge the Bishops, he could not give his Consent: So, after a long Speech, he dissolved the Assembly, in the Name, and by the Authority of the King; alledging these Reasons.

That Lay-Elders were introduced into the Assembly to vote there, which had not been customary for above 40 Years: That the Ministers chosen Deputies were elected by Lay-Elders, contrary to Custom: That the few Deputies that were chosen, contrary to the Instructions of the Tables, had been thrown out by meer Cavils: That the cited Bishops were to be tried by Persons who had already declared against them.

Notwithstanding this Dissolution, the Assembly continued their Session by their own Authority, in spite of a Proclamation published next Day against it; and proceeded with

1639. with all Speed in their Buſineſs to aboliſh, as far as in them lay, all the Innovations. Here follows a ſhort Liſt of ſome of their Acts.

An Act concerning the Service-Book.

An Act condemning the Book of Canons.

An Act condemning the High Commiſſion.

Two Acts, containing the Depoſition and Excommunication of 14 Biſhops.

An Act, clearing the Meaning of the Confeſſion of Faith made *Anno* 1580, as to abjuring and removing Epiſcopacy.

An Act reſtoring Preſbyteries, Provincial and General Aſſemblies, to their Conſtitution of Miniſters and Elders, and their Power and Juriſdiction contained in the Book of Policy.

An Act againſt thoſe who ſpeak or write againſt the Covenant or the Aſſembly.

An Act condemning Chapters, Archdeans, Preaching Deacons, and ſuch like Popiſh Traſh; with ſeveral other Acts which they made in favour of their Religion.

Theſe Acts ſhew, that the King was not in the wrong, when he ſaid the General Aſſemblies of *Scotland* had uſurped a kind of Sovereignty in religious Affairs; ſince we ſee this takes the Boldneſs to make void, by their Authority, Things that had been eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament.

The King's Party in *Scotland* was extreme-

ly

ly weak, and conſequently he had no other Way left than to uſe the Forces of *England* to reduce the *Scots* to Obedience; and as he heard the Steps the General-Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* had taken, he reſolved to levy an Army in *England*, to bring the Malcontents to their Duty: But as the *Engliſh* might naturally aſk, by what Reaſon were they bound to venture their Lives in Defence of the Intereſts of the King of *Scotland?* he thought he ſhould obviate this Objection, by ſuppoſing that the *Scots* had already levied an Army with Deſign to invade *England*: So this Scheme was laid by the King. 1639.

The King did not think proper to call a Parliament to enable him to raiſe theſe Forces, he knowing he could expect no Aſſiſtance that Way, unleſs he would alter his Maxims, and redreſs the Peoples Grievances, which he did not intend to do: He therefore ſuppoſed a defenſive War, and ſummoned the Nobility to attend him at *York*, each with as many Horſe as he ſhould be able to raiſe. This Method of raiſing Troops was never made uſe of but when the Kingdom was actually invaded, or in Danger of being ſo; or, at leaſt, when a War was proclaimed, and judged neceſſary for the Defence of the Kingdom.

But as the King would want Money ſufficient to ſubſiſt them, he thought of two Methods. The firſt was, to demand voluntary Contributions of the Clergy, by means of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who writ circular

1639. Letters to the Biſhops and Clergy for that Purpoſe. The ſecond Means made uſe of was, he put the Queen upon writing to the Catholicks, to incite them to aid the King on this urgent Occaſion. Theſe two Means brought in very near what the King expected.

Beſides the Cavalry the Nobility were to bring to *York*, all the Counties were obliged to find ſuch a Number of Foot, Horſe, Dragoons, Artillery Horſes, and a certain Quantity of Ammunition. The whole amounted to 19,483 Foot, 1233 Cavalry, and 1350 Horſes for the Carriages: Moreover, the King fitted out a Fleet of 16 Men of War, under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was come from *Scotland*.

The King came to *York* the 27th of *March*; and, on the 9th of *April*, iſſued a Proclamation to revoke ſundry Monopolies, Licences, and Commiſſions, which he had granted by his Letters Patent. On the 19th of *May* the King reviewed his Army, which conſiſted of 19,614 Men, beſides 5000 on board his Fleet.

The *Scots* all this Time were not idle: They took Care to make it appear, that they had no Intention to invade *England*; and that they took up Arms only in their own Defence; and, as they expected ſome Aſſiſtance from the Malcontents in *England*, they ſent their Emiſſaries thither, with Numbers of Papers to clear up this Aſſertion.

They

They forgot not to intimate, that it concerned *England* no leſs than *Scotland*, to withſtand the arbitrary Power the King was aiming at, as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Civil Affairs. 1639.

The King ſent the Earl of *Holland*, with 3000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, to march into *Scotland* by way of *Kelſo*. *Leſlie*, General of the *Scots*, being inform'd of his March, ſent 5 or 6000 Foot, and 500 Horſe, againſt him; which made him halt on a ſudden, and his March came to nothing.

The King having marched with his Army, the two Armies were ſo near each other, that Battle was expected every Day: But moſt of the King's Generals had adviſed him not to give Battle, tho' his Army was much ſuperior; which he could aſcribe to nothing but their Backwardneſs to venture their Lives in his Service.

Both Sides were alike reſolved to ſtand upon the Defenſive; but, when it was leaſt expected, the Lord *Dunfermling*, a *Scotſman*, came to the King's Camp with a Trumpet, and preſented his Majeſty with a very humble Petition, intreating him to appoint Commiſſioners to negotiate a Peace; whereupon the King appointed ſix Commiſſioners to treat with the *Scots*.

In the Conference between the Commiſſioners of both Parties, the *Scots* deſired three Things; namely,

I. That the Acts of the late Aſſembly at *Glaſ-*

1639. *Glaſgow* ſhould be ratified in the enſuing Parliament.

II. That all the Matters Eccleſiaſtical might be determined by the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, and Matters Civil by Parliament.

III. That his Majeſty's Ships and Forces by Land be re-called; and that all Perſons, Ships, and Goods arreſted, be reſtored.

At laſt the following Articles were agreed upon, and a Peace concluded.

I. The Forces of *Scotland* to be diſbanded and diſſolved within 48 Hours after the Publication of his Majeſty's Declaration being agreed upon.

II. His Majeſty's Caſtles, Forts, Ammunition of all ſorts, and Royal Honours, to be delivered up after the ſaid Publication, ſo ſoon as his Majeſty can ſend to receive them.

III. His Majeſty's Ships to depart, preſently after the Delivery of the Caſtles, with the firſt fair Wind; and, in the mean time, no Interruption of Trade or Fiſhing.

IV. His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to cauſe to be reſtored all Perſons, Goods, and Ships, detained and arreſted ſince the 1ſt Day of *November* laſt.

V. There ſhall be no Meetings, Treatings, Conſultations, or Convocations of his Majeſty's Lieges, but ſuch as are warranted by Act of Parliament.

VI. All Fortifications to deſiſt, and no fur-

further working therein; and they to be remitted to his Majesty's Pleasure. 1639.

VII. To restore to every one of his Majesty's good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Houses, and Goods whatsoever, taken or detained from them by whatsoever Means since the aforesaid Time.

I don't see that the *Scots* have been in a special Manner careful of their Religion by these Articles: But as they found themselves too weak, being only 12,000 to 20,000, they thought it better to agree to a general Article, than decide the Quarrel by Arms; since the Loss of a Battle, at that Time, must certainly have reduced them to a State of Servitude: so their Troops were disbanded. But 'tis certain each Party mistrusted the others Sincerity, which made them take Care that the Troops might be ready upon a Call.

The King, on his Side, was likewise afraid of hazarding a Battle: For, tho' his Troops were much superior, yet he was apprehensive of Treacheries; or, at least, that his *English* Subjects would not chearfully venture their Lives for his sake: so that the Loss of a Battle would not only have endangered the Loss of *Scotland*, but even put his Affairs in *England* in a dangerous Posture also.

As the General-Assembly and Parliament were to meet in *August*, the King appointed the Earl of *Traquair* to represent his Person in

1639. in quality of High Commiſſioner. This Man was entirely devoted to the King. He had long Inſtructions in every Point how to act in ſuch a Manner as might beſt conduce to the Intereſt of the King.

As for the Service Book and Book of Canons, tho' he ſhould be content, that they be diſcharged; yet he was never to conſent that they be condemned, as containing divers Heads of Popery and Superſtition. In like manner, tho' he ſhould agree, that the High Commiſſion be diſcharged; yet he never was to own, that it was held without Law, or deſtructive to the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories of that Kingdom.

It appears from theſe following Words, (and that you give your Aſſent no otherwiſe than may ſtand with our future Intentions, well known to you) that the King had ſtill ſome private Intentions; and that the Earl of *Traquair* was made privy thereto, the better to enable him to bring them about.

In a Letter the King writ to the Biſhops, it plainly appears he had no Thoughts to drop his former Deſigns. He promiſes to ſupport them to the utmoſt of his Power, and bids them reſt ſecure: For tho' he may be obliged, for the preſent, to give way to what may be prejudicial to the Church and the Government; yet he will think of proper Methods for to remedy it. He bids them not go to attend at the General-Aſſembly; but retire into *England*, where he will

will allow them Subſiſtence till he is enabled to take other Meaſures. 1639.

In this General-Aſſembly, held at *Edinburgh*, ſeveral Acts paſſed very diſagreeable to the King; however, the High Commiſſioner gave his Conſent.

It was enacted, that the Service Book, the Canons, the High Commiſſion, and all Epiſcopal Government, ſhould be aboliſhed; with ſeveral other Acts in favour of the Kirk; and they ſent a Petition to the King to have them ratified by Act of Parliament.

This done, they appointed a Time for holding another General-Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*, without conſulting the High Commiſſioner.

The Parliament being met, before the Ratification of the Acts of the Aſſembly was moved, they preſented to the High Commiſſioner ſome Acts; which was a clear Evidence, that they were no leſs bent upon maintaining the Privileges of the People, and guarding againſt the Artifices, whereby, for 40 Years, the Court got the Parliament to paſs what they pleaſed.

The Method of chuſing the former Parliaments, in which thoſe Acts paſſed, was this: *James* VI. who attempted to reſtore Epiſcopacy, began with giving again to the Biſhops and Lay-Abbots the Right of ſitting in Parliament, and thereby had the Votes of all that belonged to the Church at his Command; ſo the Nobility, in chuſing eight Biſhops, could name none but what were de-

1639. devoted to the King, from whence they received their Benefices. These eight Biſhops elect made it their chief Care to name eight Lords, on whom the King might depend. Theſe ſixteen never failed to chuſe eight Barons of the ſame Party; and conſequently, the eight Burgeſſes elected by the twenty-four were alſo Friends to the Court. The Parliament being thus made up, the King obtained the Acts of Parliament to reſtore Epiſcopal Government in the Kirk, in ſpite of all Endeavours of the General-Aſſembly.

As nothing was moved in Parliament, but what was derogatory to the King, the High Commiſſioner thought he had not Authority to give his Conſent, without acquainting the King; which being done, he ordered him, by Letter, to prorogue the Parliament till the 2d of *June* next Year; and declared, that the Members who ſhould continue to aſſemble, were guilty of High Treaſon. When this Order was read, the Parliament broke up much diſcontented; and declared, that the Earl of *Traquair* had no Power to prorogue the Parliament upon the King's bare Letter, and without the Conſent of the Parliament.

They left, however, a few of each Eſtate to preſent a Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, and attend his gracious Anſwer, and to aſſure the King of the Parliament's ſincere Intentions to pay him all due Obedience on all Occaſions, and ſent Deputies to *London* with it; but the King refuſed them Audience, as coming

coming without Warrant from the High Commiſſioner. 1640.

The King, after this, ſent for the Earl of *Traquair*, and ordered him to report to the Council what had paſſed: Upon which the King and Council came to a Reſolution to reduce the *Scots* to their Duty by Force of Arms; however, it was thought adviſable to give the Deputies Audience.

Four Deputies came to *London*, and a Committee was appointed to hear them, where the King was preſent. They ſaid a great deal in Vindication of what was done in *Scotland*; for that was the ſole Motive of their Deputation. The King objected, that their Power was not full enough, ſince they could neither offer nor accept of Terms; therefore nothing was concluded.

The *Scots*, upon this, made Preparations for their Defence, in caſe of an Attack; and writ a Letter to the King of *France* of their Grievances, praying his Aid. This Letter came to the Hands of *Traquair*, who ſhewed it to the King, who made great Uſe of it to vindicate his Conduct, tho' the Letter was never ſent to *France*; but it will be ſeen hereafter, that he reaped not from it all the Advantages he expected.

The War, however, was reſolved upon, which ſeemed to turn upon this Point, Whether *James* and *Charles* had Power to alter the Government of the Kirk of *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the Kirk itſelf? And whether the *Scots* might

1640. demand the Abolition of Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed upon the Ruins of Preſbytery, on Pretence of the Artifices practiſed by the Court for that Purpoſe?

There happened a Sea Fight between the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, near the Coaſt of *England*. This furniſhed the King with a Pretence to renew his Warrants for the Payment of Ship-Money; and he reſolved to fit out a powerful Fleet to preſerve the Dominion of the Sea, and defend the Kingdom.

Charles ordered this Tax to be levied with great Severity. The Sheriff of *Northamptonſhire* having ſent a Petition to Court from the Grand Jury againſt Ship-Money, was ſeverely reprimanded by the Council, and commanded to do his Office, on pain of exemplary Puniſhment. The Ship-Money was grown, by Degrees, a ſtanding Tax upon the People.

The King appointed the Earl of *Northumberland* for General of the Army againſt *Scotland*, and gave him for Lieutenant-General the Earl of *Strafford*. As the King dreaded the Friends the *Scots* had in *England*; and as, for that Reaſon, he durſt not truſt his Council with all his Affairs, he appointed a Secret Council, conſiſting of three Perſons only, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*. Theſe three managed entirely the King's moſt important Affairs; and were the Perſons that, after a mature Deliberation, adviſed him to call a Parliament.

ment. But as the King objected to them, 1640.
that before the Subſidies which the Parliament ſhould grant, could be paid, he would be reduced to great Straits, the Secret Council provided againſt this Inconveniency, by adviſing him to borrow of his Counſellors, and thoſe that would lend. The Earl of *Strafford* alone ſubſcribed 20,000 *l.* The Example of the Counſellors being followed by ſome other Lords, the King was enabled to make Preparations for War.

A Parliament was called the 13th of *April*, and a few Days after, the King iſſued out a Proclamation to revoke the Monopolies. They had been revoked before, but without any Effect.

The Parliament being met, the King made a long Speech by Sir *John Finch*, Lord Chancellor, ſetting forth the Affairs of *Scotland*, and praying Subſidies to carry on a War with the Malcontents; and alſo praying a Bill to grant him Tonnage and Poundage from the firſt Year of his Reign. He promiſed to redreſs all National Grievances. He alſo ordered the Letter to be read to them that ſhould have been ſent by the *Scots* to the King of *France*, as an Aggravation to their Crimes.

The King being withdrawn, the Commons returned to their Houſe, and choſe Serjeant *Glanvil* for their Speaker.

The Lord *Loudon*, who was in the Tower upon account of this Letter, was examined

1640. mined by Secretary *Windebank*; who reported, that *Loudon* owned the Letter was of his Hand-writing, but alledged it was penned before the Pacification, and never ſent. *Loudon* was after entruſted by the King, and promiſed to do him particular Service in *Scotland*.

The Commons, inſtead of meddling in the Affairs of *Scotland*, greedily received a Petition from the County of *Hereford*, complaining of ſundry Grievances, as Ship Money, Monopolies, Star-chamber, and High Commiſſion. Several Speeches, not very favourable to the King, were made on this Occaſion. The next Day were read Petitions from divers Counties upon the ſame Subject. Then it was ordered, that the Court-rolls, containing Mr *Hampden*'s Trial for refuſing to pay Ship Money, ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

The King finding the Parliament did not proceed as he wiſhed, ſent for them to *Whitehall*, and the Lord Keeper made a Speech.

He let them know that the Army was then upon their March, and would ſtand in Expence 100,000*l.* a Month; and if the Supply was not immediately granted, all that was hitherto done would be loſt, and the Nation in Danger of being ruined. He promiſed they ſhould be kept together, and to redreſs all Grievances.

The Speech that was made did not hinder the Commons from proceeding in the Examination

mination of Grievances. The King finding no Speeches would avail, managed it ſo, that the Lords demanded a Conference; where they endeavoured to ſhew, that the Affair of Supply ſhould precede that of Grievances. 1640.

The Commons took Offence at this, and voted it to be a Breach of Privilege, and that the Lords ſhould not meddle with what did not belong to them.

His Majeſty finding the Subſidy Bill was ſtill delayed, ſent Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State, with the following Meſſage:

His Majeſty (the better to facilitate your Reſolutions) this Day hath thought fit to let you know, that of his Grace and Favour he is pleaſed, upon your granting twelve Subſidies to be preſently paſſed, and to be paid in three Years, with a Proviſo that it ſhall not determine the Seſſions; his Majeſty will not only for the preſent forbear the levying of any Ship Money, but will give way to the utter aboliſhing of it, by any Courſe that yourſelves ſhall like beſt.

The Commons having taken this Offer into Conſideration, great Debates enſued, and the Houſe was inclined by Degrees to give the King ſome Satisfaction; but as they could not come to a Reſolution the firſt Day, Sir *Henry Vane* was deſired to acquaint his Majeſty, that they hoped to return him an Anſwer the next Day.

The King in the mean Time was maliciouſly informed, that the Commons ſought only

1640. only to gain Time, in order to vote on the Morrow againſt the War with *Scotland*. The King, to his great Misfortune, perceived not the Falſhood till it was too late to repair his Error; ſo on the Morrow, going to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, he addreſſed himſelf to the Lords in a Speech, and diſſolved the Parliament.

He ſet forth, That he would on all Occaſions preſerve that Purity of Religion which was ſo well eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and that as well out of as in Parliament. He thanks the Lords for their dutiful Reſpect, and deſires them to go on and aſſiſt him in maintaining of that Regal Power that is truly his own. As for the Liberty of the People, that they now ſo much ſtartle at, know, my Lords, that no King in the World ſhall be more careful in the Property of their Goods, Liberty of their Perſons, and true Religion, than I ſhall.

Next Day Officers were ſent to ſearch Lord *Brook*'s Pockets and Study, for Papers. Sir *John Hotham*, and *Henry Bellaſis* were examined in Council, and committed to the Fleet, for refuſing to anſwer to Queſtions concerning Things done in Parliament; and *John Crew*, Eſq; was ſent to the *Tower*.

The Lord *Clarendon* owns the King had no ſooner diſſolved the Parliament, but he was heartily ſorry for it, and conſulted whether he might by Proclamation recall them. *Whitlock* lays the Blame of the Diſſolution on *Laud* and the Secret Council. The Lord

Cla-

Clarendon lays the Blame on Sir *Henry Vane*. However, the King publiſhed a long Declaration in vindication of what he had done. 1640.

The King, alſo continued the Sitting of the Convocation (tho' it was inſiſted on that it was diſſolved with the Parliament) a Month longer; and in that Time did two Things which gave Occaſion to great Complaints.

The firſt was, certain Canons were made, whereby all Clergymen, and all Graduates in the Univerſities, were enjoined to take an Oath, and to ſwear that they approved of the Doctrine and Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, with further Additions. It was looked upon that the Convocation had no Right to impoſe any Oath on the Subject, nor could it be done without Conſent of Parliament.

The ſecond Thing they did, was the granting the King, for the *Scots* War, a Subſidy of Four Shillings in the Pound, for ſix Years. This Proceeding, which tended to diminiſh the Parliament's Power, was no leſs diſliked than the former.

The People was ſtill diſcontented more, by ſeeing the Popiſh Recuſants not only tolerated, but protected. They publickly reſorted to Maſs to *Somerſet* Houſe, and returned in great Multitudes; nay, a publick Agent from *Rome* reſided at *London*, Count *Rozetti*, who openly went to Court in great Pomp, and whoſe Houſe was the general Rendezvous of the Catholicks.

All

1640. All theſe Diſcontents were fomented by the *Scots*, who ſeeing they were to be attacked, were extremely diligent, by means of their Emiſſaries, to ſtir up the People againſt the King.

The King wanting ſtill Money to carry on the War, took the following Expedients: 1ſt, He ordered that the Counties ſhould advance Coat and Conduct Money for their reſpective Troops. 2d, He bought upon Credit, of the *Eaſt India* Merchants, all their Pepper, and ſold it again for ready Money. 3d, He took 40,000 *l.* worth of Bullion, which the Merchants had brought into the Mint to be coined; which Sum was afterwards punctually re-paid. 4th, He would have borrowed 300,000 *l.* of the City of *London*, but he was denied: But to be revenged of them, they were cited before the Star-chamber, to anſwer to a Charge of having abuſed a Patent that had been granted them of ſome Lands at *Londonderry*, in *Ireland*, by uſurping more Lands than the King had granted in the Patent. Upon this Charge, whether well or ill grounded, they were condemned to forfeit their Rights, and were grievouſly fined; but upon Payment of their Fine, their Patent was reſtored. The Ship Money was alſo levied with great Rigour.

Part of the King's Army was now upon the Frontiers, under the Command of the Lord *Conway*, General of the Horſe, whilſt the reſt lay encamped near *York*. The Earl of

of *Northumberland*, who was to command under the King, ſtaid behind ſick at *London*; and the Earl of *Strafford*, who was Lieutenant General, had not been able to ſet out Time enough, becauſe he was a very neceſſary Member of the King's Secret Council. The Lord *Conway* being advanced as far as *Newcaſtle*, with 3000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, was informed that *Leſley*, General of the *Scots*, was preparing to march at the Head of 22,000 Men, in order to enter *England*. 1640.

Leſley paſſed the *Tweed* the 20th of *Auguſt*, the very Day the King ſet out from *London* for *York*, where he arrived the 23d. *Leſley* purſuing his March, came on the 27th to *Newburn*, on the North Side of the *Tyne*, four Miles from *Newcaſtle*.

At his Arrival he found the Lord *Conway* poſted with his Troops on the South Side of the River, where he had raiſed Breaſt-works over-againſt the two Fords, in order to oppoſe *Leſley*'s Paſſage. The *Scots* forced the Paſſage of the *Tyne* after a Fight very poorly maintained by the *Engliſh*. *Conway* was ſeized with ſo great Terror that he left *Newcaſtle* the next Day, and retreated to *Durham*; where, not thinking himſelf ſafe, he joined the King's Army at *Northampton*.

The *Scots* entered *Newcaſtle*, and found there the Artillery and Stores the King had ordered thither, having deſigned that Place for the Magazine of his Army.

The Entrance of the *Scots* into *England*,

1640. and the taking *Newcaſtle*, broke all the King's Meaſures. The *Engliſh* Malcontents were more at Eaſe, and ſpoke more boldly againſt the Government: And it was not poſſible for the King to employ, in raiſing Money, the ſame Methods he had till then practiſed; from whence it was the general Opinion, that a Parliament was abſolutely neceſſary. The *Scots* had in *England* more Friends than the King had till now imagined; but he was not fully convinced of it, till his Affairs began to be upon the Decline.

The *Scots* diſperſed Manifeſtoes in *England*, wherein they ſhewed, 1ſt, The Juſtice of their Cauſe. 2d, The Artifices of their Enemies to ſurprize them. 3d, The Neceſſity they were under of taking up Arms to prevent their Ruin. 4th, Notwithſtanding their Entry into *England*, the War was defenſive on their Part. 5th, They intended to offer no Violence, but only to procure Acceſs to his Majeſty, in order to preſent their Grievances; with ſeveral other Remonſtrances.

While they were at *Newcaſtle* they ſent a very humble Petition to the King, beſeeching him to give Ear to their Complaints, and cure their Evils by Advice of the Parliament of *England*.

The King ſummoned all the Nobility to meet him at *York*, to give their Advice in the preſent Situation of Affairs: And it was concluded, to ſend to know the particular Demands of the *Scots*.

The

The *Scots* drew up their Demands, which contained in Subſtance a Redreſs of all their Grievances. They alſo gained the Good-will of the *Londoners*, by ſuffering them to have the free Traffick of Coals, which they could eaſily have ſtopped, being Maſters of *Newcaſtle*. This anſwered the Expectation of the *Scots*; for the *Londoners* upon this petitioned the King to ſummon a Parliament, which was one of the Articles in the *Scots* Demands; well knowing that this would gain them Friends in Abundance in *England*, ſince the King and Parliament were much at Variance. 1640.

In this Petition was ſet forth the national Grievances; and it prayed, that the King would ſummons a Parliament with all convenient Speed, for a Redreſs thereof, according to the Laws of the Kingdom.

This Petition was followed by another from twelve Lords; wherein they prayed alſo, that a Parliament might be immediately ſummoned, and that the Grievances of the People might be redreſſed.

Preſently after, the King having called the *Yorkſhire* Gentry together, he propoſed to them the Payment of the Train-band for two Months; which they agreed to, but withall they beſought his Majeſty to endeavour to compoſe the Differences with the *Scots*, and to ſummon a Parliament.

The King plainly ſeeing by the Petitions, that it was the Nation's fervent Deſire to have a Parliament called, made no Queſtion but

1640. but it would be the firſt Advice the Peers (who were to aſſemble at *York*) would give him; he therefore ordered the ſummoning of a Parliament on the 3d of *November*, for fear, if he delayed it any longer, it might be thought he was forced to it. The Great Council of the Peers being aſſembled at *York* the 24th of *September*, he made them a Speech; in which he told them, that of his own Accord he had ordered Writs to be iſſued for ſummoning a Parliament, to meet the 3d of *November*; but in the mean Time he called them together, to adviſe what Anſwer was to be given to the Rebels; and alſo how his Army might be kept on foot and maintained until the Supplies of a Parliament might be had. Then he commanded the Reaſons to be laid before them that had induced him to levy an Army againſt the *Scots*, and alſo the particular Demands of the *Scots*.

The Reſult of the Deliberations of the Peers was, that ſome of themſelves ſhould be ſent as Commiſſioners to treat with the *Scots*, and endeavour to conclude a Peace.

Sixteen Peers were choſen for Commiſſioners, to whom were added by the King, as Aſſiſtants, the Earls *Traquair*, *Morton*, and *Lanerk*, Secretary of *Scotland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Lewis Steward*, and Sir *John Burrough*: And it was further agreed, that the Treaty ſhould begin at *Rippon* the 1ſt of *October*.

This Point being diſpatched, the King de-

desired the Lords to consider of Means to maintain the Army during the Treaty, which consisted of 24,000 Men. It was calculated, that 200,000 *l.* would only serve for three Months; whereupon it was resolved, that a Letter, subscribed by all the Peers present, should be sent to the City of *London*, for lending that Sum upon such Security as should be agreed upon, each of the Peers offering to become bound. 1640.

The *Scots* having appointed eight Commissioners, the Negotiation began at the Time and Place appointed: But before the main Point of the Treaty was entered upon, certain Preliminary Articles were to be settled. The *Scots* represented to them, that their Army subsisted by means of the Contributions raised upon *Cumberland*, *Newcastle*, and *Durham*; and as the Negotiation might hold some Time, it was necessary before all Things to provide for the Maintenance of their Troops during the Treaty. Besides, the *Scots* would never suffer the Earl of *Traquair* to assist at the Treaty; because he was one of those they called Incendiaries, and against whom they demanded severe Justice. After many Debates, the Commissioners of the two Nations agreed at last, on the 18th of *October*, upon Preliminary Articles.

In which it was agreed, that the *Scots* Army should have 850 *l.* a Day for two Months, if the Treaty lasted so long, to be paid weekly: That the *Scots* were not to molest

1640. moleſt Papiſts, Prelates, nor their Adherents, nor any other Perſons of whatſoever Quality: That the Prices for Forage, and all ſorts of Victuals, be fixed by indifferent Perſons: That free Trade and Commerce between both Nations be reſtored, and not interrupted but upon the Warning of three Months; with other Particulars to this Purpoſe.

As the Parliament was to meet the 3d of *November*, it was propoſed to remove the Treaty to *London*. The King was forced to conſent to it, tho' he plainly perceived the *Scots* expected to find many Friends at *London*, and in the Parliament itſelf; as it happened in effect.

The King's Affairs were now in a very ill Situation when the Parliament met: Inſtead of having ſubdued the *Scots*, as he had flattered himſelf, he had the Mortification to ſee them enter *England*, and even become Maſters of *Newcaſtle*, at a Time when the King was at a Strait for Money to pay his Army: However, the 200,000 *l.* which was borrowed of the City of *London*, ſerved for a Supply till the Parliament ſhould grant one.

The Parliament met the 3d of *November*, and there had never been a fuller Appearance. Every one looked upon this as the faireſt Opportunity that could poſſibly offer to cure the Evils of the Kingdom; and all the Members, except ſuch as were entirely devoted to the King, were ready to contribute

tribute to the reſtoring the Government, according to its true and ancient Conſtitution. 1640.

The King ſet forth, that the 200,000 *l.* which he had borrowed of the City of *London*, would only ſerve his Army two Months; and he left it to their Conſideration, what Diſhonour and Miſchief it might be, in caſe for want of Money, the Army ſhould be diſbanded, before the Rebels were put out of the Kingdom. And, that they might the better know the State of all the Affairs of the Kingdom, he ordered the Lord Keeper *Finch* to give them an Account of all that had happened; and, that if this was not a good and happy Parliament, the Fault ſhould not be his.

Then the Lord Keeper ſpoke. He began with Encomiums on the King and Queen; and endeavoured to perſuade the Houſe, that the calling of the Parliament was wholly owing to his Majeſty; (yet the Lord *Clarendon* aſcribes the calling the Parliament to the Advice of the Great Council of Peers at *York*.) Then he endeavoured to ſhew, that the *Scots* had violated the late Treaty; and that the King, againſt his Will, had taken up Arms, by the unanimous Advice of his Council, to reduce them to Obedience. He concluded with informing both Houſes of what had paſſed ſince the Beginning of the War.

The Commons being returned to their Houſe, choſe for Speaker *William Lenthall*, a Bencher of *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, who was propoſed

1640. poſed by Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State. Then they reſolved, that a Committee of the whole Houſe ſhould meet on certain Days of the Week, to debate Matters relating to theſe five principal Heads, Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice, Trade, and *Ireland*. Theſe were the chief Cauſes of the Nation's Complaints.

This Parliament was divided in Opinion as to one Point. Some thought, that after all the Grievances were redreſſed, the Government ſhould be reſtored to its natural State, ſuch as it was before the Reigns of *James* and *Charles*; and that there was no Neceſſity of making any Additions or Alterations. Others thought, that, after the Redreſs of Grievances, it would be neceſſary to uſe ſome effectual Method, to put it out of the King's Power ever to invade again the Privileges of the Parliament, or the Liberties of the People: But theſe Men carefully concealed their Thoughts, leſt they ſhould give occaſion to the others to ſuſpect, that there was a Deſign to alter the eſtabliſhed Government, and ſo cauſe them to oppoſe the moſt reaſonable Things, out of fear of the Conſequences.

The Times being changed, the King found the impoſing of arbitrary Taxes could be practiſed no longer; upon which he had, in all Likelihood, depended in the Beginning of the War, ſince, in a Month after his taking the Field, he had no Money to pay his Troops; and it was the Parliament's Intereſt

tereſt to keep him thus low, that he might not be able to oppoſe the Reſolutions which ſhould be taken by the two Houſes. It is not therefore to be thought ſtrange, that the Parliament did not much attend to what the King moſt deſired; namely, to be enabled to chaſe the *Scots* out of the Kingdom; ſince, on the contrary, the Preſence of the *Scots* gave the two Houſes a Superiority they did not care to loſe. 1640.

The Opinions were alſo much divided in in the Parliament, with reſpect to Religion. There were in the Houſes rigid Epiſcopalians, who believed Biſhops to be eſſential to Religion; and that, without them, there was no lawful Ordination, nor, conſequently, any valid Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

There were alſo moderate Epiſcopalians, who, being ſincerely attached to the Church of *England*, had, however, ſomewhat different Notions about Epiſcopacy. They had a Veneration for Epiſcopal Government, as being very ancient in the Church, and what they liked beſt; but, tho' they had no Deſign to alter it, they believed, however, it was not ſo abſolutely neceſſary, but that Religion might well ſubſiſt under another kind of Government. This was the prevailing Opinion, and eſpouſed by a Majority in both Houſes.

But there was in the two Houſes another Party, more powerful by the Ability of their Leaders than by their Number; I mean that of the Preſbyterians, who were divided alſo

1640. into moderate and rigid. The former had no other View, but to obtain ſome Liberty and Security againſt Perſecution. The latter were of another Stamp: They conſidered Epiſcopal Government as repugnant to the Word of God; and the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops as a real Tyranny.

Theſe were the particular Objects of the Hatred of the King, Miniſtry, Biſhops, and Clergy; and theſe believed there was no Safety for them, but in an entire Change of Epiſcopal into Preſbyterian Government. Among theſe rigid Preſbyterians, lay concealed a certain Set of Men, known afterwards by the Name of *Independents*. It was the particular Intereſt of theſe Men to manage ſo, that the Government of the State might be changed, or rather overthrown, well knowing their Party could never ſubſiſt but in Anarchy: And therefore, without diſcovering their Intentions, they improved all Occaſions to ſow and cheriſh Diſcord between the King and Parliament.

The whole Preſbyterian Party was directed by the Heads of the rigid Preſbyterians and Independents, Men of great Parts; who, without diſcovering themſelves any more than was neceſſary, ſeemed to confine their Deſigns to the Redreſs of Grievances, which was the general Aim of the Parliament.

Theſe found a double Advantage in this Conduct. 1ſt, They hereby removed all Suſpicion of their intending to change the Go-

Government of Church or State. 2d, By being intent upon a Redreſs of Grievances, they had frequent Occaſions of exclaiming againſt the King's former Adminiſtration, and fomenting the Parliament's Diſtruſt and Jealouſy on that account: for it was by that chiefly they hoped to be able to bring about their Projects. 1640.

This being the Temper and Conſtitution of the Parliament, 'tis eaſy to ſee the Reaſon why the Commons were ſo intent, at firſt, upon Redreſs of Grievances, as well publick as private. A vaſt Number of Petitions upon that Subject were preſented to them a few Days after their meeting. Many Members were likewiſe charged with the like Petitions from their Shires, Cities, and Burroughs; and ſeveral very mortifying Speeches, concerning the King and his Miniſters, were made in the Houſe; which ſummed up all the publick Grievances, and demonſtrated them to be as hurtful to the King as to the People.

The Houſe was divided into above 40 Committees, to enquire into the different Nature of the many Grievances laid before the Houſe. One Committee was to examine what Number of Papiſts were in and about *London*, and how they were armed: And, as the King had acquainted them, by Meſſage, with his Intent to iſſue out a Proclamation againſt Recuſants, this Committee was empowered to examine the ſame after it

1640. it ſhould be publiſhed, and ſee how it was executed.

Two Days after, the Houſe going upon the Grievances, the Lord *Digby*, Son of the Earl of *Briſtol*, made on that Subject a Speech, which he concluded with making this Motion, "That a Select Committee "may be appointed to draw out of all that "has been complained of, ſuch a Remon-"ſtrance as may be a faithful and lively Re-"preſentation to his Majeſty of the deplo-"rable Eſtate of the Kingdom." This Motion being approved of, the Houſe appointed a Committee of twenty-four to prepare the Remonſtrance; but becauſe the King ſhewed a greater Compliance than was expected, this Remonſtrance was not drawn up till above a Year after, and on another Occaſion.

It was voted, that all ſuch Members as, directly or indirectly, had any Share in, or Benefit from, any Project or Monopoly, ſhould be diſabled to ſit in the Houſe; and that Mr Speaker ſhould iſſue out Writs to chuſe others in their Room. There were afterwards four expelled the Houſe upon that account.

There were alſo ſeveral private Petitions; the moſt remarkable were thoſe of *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, *Pryn*, *Lilburn*, *Leighton*, *Jennings*, and *Smart*. Thoſe Men complained of the exorbitant Pains and Penalties inflicted on them by the Star-chamber and High Commiſſion. In about a Year's Time, the Commons

mons examined all these Sentences, and made the Members of the Star-chamber pay all the Coasts and Damages to the Parties. The Commons took a Pleasure to mortify, in their Turn, those who had made it their Business to stretch the Prerogative-royal. 1640.

The Commons took upon them to redress the Grievances of the whole Nation, both publick and private; which was their principal Business during the first Year of their sitting.

Amongst those who had contributed most to the publick Mischiefs, the Archbishop of of *Canterbury* was considered as one of the chief, as being Author of the Innovations of the Church, Promoter of the War with *Scotland*, Persecutor of the Presbyterians, and Head of the *Arminians*. The Earl of *Strafford* was likewise of this Number; who being President of the Court of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, had no other View but to stretch the Prerogative-royal, and increase the King's Revenues. He was accused of advising the King to transport his *Irish* Army into *England*, to subdue such as would oppose his Will.

The Lord Keeper *Finch* was looked upon also as a pernicious Counsellor, wholly devoted to the King, and ready to do any thing towards establishing a Despotick Government. It was not doubted but he was the Man that corrupted the Judges in the Business of Ship-Money.

Sir *Francis Windebank*, one of the Secretaries

1640. taries of State, was reckoned the Patron of the Catholicks; and it was by his Means, that the condemned Prieſts and Jeſuits eſcaped, one Way or other, the Sentences paſſed againſt them.

In ſhort, the Judges of the Realm had rendered themſelves extremely odious to the People, as well by the Judgment they had given in Mr *Hampden*'s Affair, as by a thouſand other Acts of Injuſtice to private Perſons. Theſe were the principal Authors of the Grievances, whom the Commons intended to bring to exemplary Puniſhment.

The Earl of *Strafford* was the firſt on whom the Storm fell, eight Days after the opening of the Parliament. Mr *Pym* having deſired and obtained his Deſire of the Commons, that the Doors of the Houſe might be locked, and the Outward-room cleared of Strangers, informed them, that there were ſeveral Complaints againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, which miniſtered good Ground to accuſe him of High Treaſon. Upon which a Committee was appointed, who reported, that there was, in their Opinions, good Cauſe. Then Mr *Pym* was ordered to go to the Houſe of Lords, and accuſe the Earl of High Treaſon, in the Name of all the Commons.

The Earl was then in the Houſe, and it was deſired, that he might be taken into Cuſtody, and, in due Time, they would produce Articles of Accuſation. The Earl was accordingly ſent to the Tower; but, as this

this Affair was ſpun out till *May*, I ſhall re- 1640.
late his Trial afterwards.

Secretary *Windebank* was attacked next: Several Petitions were preſented againſt him to the Houſe, whereof he was a Member, complaining, that, as Secretary of State, he had iſſued out Warrants under his own Hands, to diſcharge the Proſecutions againſt Prieſts, and for their Releaſe out of Priſon. He was ſummoned ſeveral Times to come to the Houſe; but he withdrew into *France*.

Afterwards he writ a Letter to the Earl of *Pembroke*, in which were theſe Words, "What I am guilty of, none knows ſo well "as his Majeſty; whom I have ſerved faith- "fully, diligently, painfully, and with a true "and loyal Heart."

The Tax that the Convocation had laid upon the Clergy, to aid the King in his War with *Scotland*, and the Canons and Oath they had impoſed by their ſole Authority, was next conſidered.

The Commons, after ſeveral Debates, unanimouſly voted, that the Clergy of *England*, conveen'd in a Convocation, had no Power to make any Conſtitutions, Canons, or Acts whatſoever, in Matters of Doctrine, Diſcipline, or otherwiſe, to bind Clergy or Laity of the Land, without common Conſent of Parliament.

A Committee was thereupon appointed to examine who were the chief Promoters of theſe Canons, and how they had been put in execution, and to conſider in particular how

1640. how far the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been concerned in the great Deſign of ſubverting the Laws of the Land and Religion; and next Day Articles of Impeachment were preſented to the Lords againſt *Laud*.

The Articles contained, that he was the Cauſe of all the Troubles in *Scotland*: That he was the Author of introducing into *Scotland* the Book of Canons and the Liturgy, as was manifeſt from 14 Letters of his which they offered to produce: That he had kindled War between the King and the *Scots*, and had been one of the chief Cauſes of breaking the laſt Pacification, and renewing the War; with ſeveral other Particulars.

On the Morrow Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* made a Speech againſt the Archbiſhop; ſetting forth, that the Miſeries of the State had been raiſed by his Means; and that there was not a ſingle Grievance, but what he was concerned in. Upon this, and ſeveral Complaints, the Commons impeached him of High Treaſon; and the Lords put him into the Cuſtody of the Black Rod. Some Time after he was ſent to the Tower.

Afterwards the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, that they had received Informations of a very high Nature againſt *Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*; and, having heard, that he intended to eſcape out of the Kingdom, deſired them to think of ſome Method to prevent him: Whereupon the Lords ordered him to give 10,000*l.* Bail for his Appearance, which he conſented to.

Of

Of those whom the Commons looked upon as the chief Authors of the Publick Grievances, there remained only the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Judges. The first was declared a Traitor, by a Vote of the House of Commons; but, before he was accused in Form, he fled into *Holland*: however, he was impeached afterwards, tho' absent. Presently after his Flight, the King made Sir *Edward Littleton* Lord Keeper. 1640.

The Commons sent word to the Lords, they had received Informations against three Judges, Sir *John Bramston*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir *Humphrey Davenport*, Lord Chief Baron, and Justice *Crawley*; and desired the House they might give good Security for their Appearance. They gave 10,000 *l.* Bail each. The other Judges were likewise accused afterwards.

Thus the Persons who were considered by the Commons as the principal Authors of the Publick Grievances, were disabled, not only to continue their Advice to the King, but also to escape Punishment, except those that fled. I shall not take Notice of many others of inferior Rank, who were variously punished.

Petitions from all Quarters were presented to the House upon Grievances; which the Commons taking into Consideration, the following Acts were presented to the King for the Royal Assent.

An Act for a Triennial Parliament; or, that a Parliament should be held every three

1640. Years, tho' the King ſhould neglect to call it.

An Act to aboliſh the Star-chamber and High Commiſſion.

An Act to reduce the Foreſts to the ſame State they were in under *Edward* I.

An Act to repeal the Statutes made in the Reign of *Edward* II. concerning Knighthood.

An Act to permit any Subject to make Salt-petre and Gun-powder throughout the Kingdom.

An Act to aboliſh Ship-Money.

The Neceſſity of theſe Acts was ſo manifeſt, that the King muſt have either conſented to them, or plainly declared he would govern with an abſolute Power; but, under the preſent Poſture of Affairs, he found it beſt to give his Aſſent.

Beſides theſe Acts, the Commons paſſed many general Votes upon other Matters. Indeed theſe Votes are not conſidered as Laws; neither do the Judges go by them in their Determinations; yet they had a very good Effect for the Publick Good: As, for Inſtance, the Houſe voted, that ſuch a Monopoly was illegal; if any Perſon, after the Parliament's Declaration, behaved in a manner diſagreeable to the Commons, or appeared too much attached to the King, an Accuſation againſt him was the certain Conſequences of ſuch Behaviour.

The King's moſt devoted Friends chuſed rather to relinquiſh his Intereſt, than be liable

liable to a Charge they found the King could not ſcreen them from; for ſince the Heads were puniſhed, the private Perſons could expect no Protection. Thus the Commons rendered themſelves ſo formidable, that the King, on a ſudden, found himſelf deſerted by all the World. 1640.

The Commons made uſe of another Expedient to make themſelves feared. As there were abundance of People, who, in Conformity to the Intentions of the Court, had been concerned in the Monopolies, or countenanced the Innovations, or helped to introduce and ſupport what was the Subject of the Grievances, the Commons, upon the Petitions preſented to them againſt theſe Men, ſent for them to *London*, and, examining them by a Committee, declared them Delinquents; as much as to ſay, that, according to the Opinion of the Houſe, they were guilty of Faults or Offences, for which they deſerved to be proſecuted and puniſhed according to Law. From hence there followed an unanimous Approbation of whatever was done by the Houſe; ſome conſenting, becauſe they thought the Thing juſt, and others out of Fear of Chaſtiſement; the Delinquents not being proſecuted, but according as they behaved well or ill for the future.

The Parliament appointed a Committee of ſixteen to go to the ſeveral Judges, to know in what Manner, and by whom they were ſolicited or threatened to give their extrajudicial Opinion concerning Ship-Money. Alſo

1640. a Committee was appointed, to enquire into the Irregularities of the ſeveral Courts, with Power to ſend for Parties, Witneſſes, Papers, Records, or any thing elſe that might conduce to this Buſineſs, and were to preſent the State of the whole Matter to the Houſe.

The Lords ordered to be brought into their Houſe the Record of the Exchequer of the Judgment of Mr *Hampden*'s Caſe, and alſo the Rolls in the Star-chamber and other Courts, wherein the extrajudicial Opinions of the Judges were entered, and cauſed them to be annulled in their Preſence.

The King gave his Royal Aſſent to an Act to aboliſh Ship-Money; and, within the firſt nine Months of this Seſſion, all other Grievances, both publick and private, were redreſſed.

The next thing they took in hand was concerning Religion. I have ſaid before, how the Houſe ſtood affected in reſpect to Religion. The Biſhops were far from being ignorant of the Preſbyterians' Drift; and that, in leſſening the King's Power, their Intent was to render him unable to oppoſe the Change they were meditating: Wherefore, they ſtuck faſter to the King's Intereſt, and often, by the Number of their Voices, managed it ſo, that the Upper Houſe voted directly contrary to the Reſolves of the Lower: But by this they gave the Preſbyterians a conſiderable Advantage; for this made them labour to get the Biſhops excluded from having Votes in the Houſe; and a Bill was brought in for the Excluſion of all Eccleſiaſticks from Civil Employs, and the Biſhops,

ſhops, in particular, from a Right of ſitting in the Houſe of Lords. 1640.

Thoſe who had only in view the reſtoring the Civil Government, whom I ſhall term Politicians, were very much at a Loſs: For tho' the Preſbyterian Party diſcovered not themſelves all at once, and ſeemed to have no other View than to facilitate the Redreſs of all Abuſes; yet after the Excluſion of the Biſhops, it was eaſy to perceive, that their Projects reached further, and that their Aim was to undermine the Hierarchy.

Then began to be debated the famous Queſtion, By what Title do the Biſhops ſit in Parliament? It was not denied, but that they enjoy'd this Privilege ever ſince the Beginning of the Monarchy. Some inſiſted, that they ſat in Parliament as Barons only, on account of the Crown Lands granted them by the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings; for which they did Homage to the King, like the reſt of the Barons. Others maintained, that they had their Seat as Repreſentatives of the Clergy; which made good the Maxim, that no Body can be bound by the Laws to which he has not conſented. They added further, that the Parliament had always been thought to conſiſt of three Eſtates, of which the Clergy had ever been conſidered as one; ſo inferred, that the taking away this Eſtate, would be to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Government.

The other Side admitted, that the Clergy make an Eſtate of Parliament by themſelves, diſtinct

1640. distinct from the rest of the People; but it did not follow, that the Bishops represented the whole Church: That there were in the Parliament two Houses, one of the Lords, another of the Commons; and two Houses in the Convocation, the Upper of the Bishops, the Lower of the inferior Clergy: and that, according to this Rule, the inferior Clergy should likewise have Representatives in the Parliament. Hence it was inferred, that the Bishops did not represent the Clergy; and that this was a new Thing; and that they would have been very angry, a few Months before, to have been counted only bare Representatives. And as the People of *England* were not represented by the Lords, no more were the Clergy by the Bishops: That the Abbots had formerly a Seat in Parliament; not as Representatives, but as being Tenants in Chief; and that when they were excluded, none thought a Breach was made in the Constitution of the Parliament.

This Question was so much the more difficult, as it had never been determined by what Title the Bishops sat in Parliament; and it is seldom, that in Disputes of this Nature, Men apply themselves solely to find out Justice and Right.

However, the Heads of the Presbyterians never ceased to represent to the Politicians the Impossibility of restoring the Government to its natural State, as long as the Bishops should

ſhould ſit in the Houſe of Peers, who were entirely devoted to the King. 1640.

The Politicians were of the ſame Opinion; but they were loth to yield, for fear the Alteration propoſed might draw others after it in Church and State, which they were willing to guard againſt, as well as arbitrary Power: However, before the moving this Bill, the Lower Houſe had taken ſeveral Steps tending to incenſe the People againſt the Biſhops. The great Number of Petitions againſt the Biſhops in general, againſt Epiſcopal Government, againſt ſome particular Prelates and Clergymen, againſt Innovations, againſt the late Convocation, ſerved them for Foundation to examine the Conduct of the Biſhops with all the Rigour their Deſign required.

The Commons, for a Diſguiſe to their Deſigns, reſolved, that none ſhould ſit in the Houſe but ſuch as ſhould bring a Ticket, that they had received the Sacrament firſt. This was to prevent their being deemed Preſbyterians in all Probability. For thus, in the Reign of *Henry* V. the Houſe of Commons intending to give a mortal Blow to the Clergy, began with paſſing an Act for burning Hereticks, leſt the Clergy ſhould pretend, that the Houſe conſiſted only of ſuch.

A great many Petitions were preſented againſt the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Government; and, amongſt the reſt, the Houſe received a Petition from the City of *London*, and

1640. and ſeveral other Counties, containing 28 Grievances, all pointing at the Growth of Popery and *Arminianiſm*, the Increaſe of Prieſts and Jeſuits, the frequent vending of Crucifixes and Popiſh Pictures, both engraven and printed, and the placing of ſuch in Bibles, the turning of Communion-tables Altarwiſe, the ſetting Images and Tapers upon them, with the Particulars of above a hundred more Popiſh Ceremonies. This Petition ended with ſome Conſiderations; the laſt whereof was, that the Biſhops being the Cauſe of the War with *Scotland*, this War could not be terminated but by the Suppreſſion of Epiſcopacy.

Next Day ſeveral Miniſters were declared Delinquents, for introducing Innovations into the Church; and a Committee was appointed to examine the Complaints exhibited againſt the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

Laud was accuſed, and *Wren* obliged to give Bail; and Petitions were preſented from four ſeveral Counties againſt the Hierarchy.

The ſeveral Petitions which came againſt the Biſhops were graciouſly received by the Houſe of Commons; and were plain Indications, that the Houſe had ill Deſigns againſt them: Upon which his Majeſty ſent for both Houſes to *Whitehall*, where he made them a Speech.

In his Speech he laid before them the State of his Affairs; and reminded them, that there were two Armies in the Kingdom in a manner maintained by them: Therefore,

fore, in the first Place, he recommended a quick Dispatch of that Business. He told them, they made no Difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government: That it was his Intention chearfully to concur with them for the Reformation of all Innovations, both in Church and Commonwealth; and consequently, that the Courts of Justice might be reformed according to Law. But he thought it strange, that several Petitions, from divers Counties, should be given in against the established Government, with the greatest Threatenings against the Bishops, in order to take away their Voices in Parliament: Therefore he told them, tho' he agreed to the Reformation of all Abuses; yet he never would agree to the Alteration of Government, or to take from the Bishops their Voices in Parliament, which have been enjoy'd ever since the Conqueſt. 1640.

This Speech had not the Effect the King expected: The great Concern the King expressed for the Bishops' Right, was precisely the principal Cause that made their Exclusion to be so earnestly desired.

The same Day a Complaint was brought to the Commons against *Matthew Wren*, for his having, whilst Bishop of *Norwich*, by Oppressions, Innovations, and requiring certain Oaths, compelled above 50 Families of that City to withdraw out of *England*.

Upon a Complaint of the Inhabitants of *Wood-Church*, in *Kent*, against Mr *Bowen*,

1640. their Miniſter, who being alſo a Juſtice of Peace, had, by colour of that Office, done ſeveral Things contrary to the Laws, the Houſe ordered, that the Lord Keeper ſhould be deſired to leave out the Clergy of *England* and *Wales* at the renewing of the Commiſſion of Peace.

The Houſe reſumed the Debate concerning the Biſhops, and many Speeches were made. Thoſe who ſpoke for the Biſhops, granted the Prelates had made ill Uſe of their Power; but maintained, that their perſonal Faults might be puniſhed and prevented for the future, without its being neceſſary to ſtrike at Epiſcopacy itſelf. The Adverſaries intimated, that there was no reforming Epiſcopacy, but by changing the Government of the Church. They ſaid, as long as there were Biſhops, there would be ſo many Tyrants, who would think more of eſtabliſhing their Grandeur, than of the People's Salvation. Unluckily they had but too many Inſtances to confirm their Opinion.

The Oppoſition which the Enemies of Epiſcopacy met with in the Execution of their Deſigns, was ſtrong enough to retard it; but was not capable to make them lay it aſide. They were contented, therefore, with having prevailed with the Houſe, that the Petition of the Inhabitants of *London* ſhould be taken into Conſideration, contrary to the Opinion of ſome, that would have had it thrown out without reading. They con-

continued alſo to receive Petitions againſt Epiſcopacy. 1640.

A Bill was brought in for aboliſhing Superſtition, upon Suppoſition that the Biſhops had introduced into the Church ſundry Superſtitions.

The Commons appointed a Committee to prepare Reaſons to be offered to the Lords, about putting all Clergymen out of the Commiſſion of Peace.

The Houſe reſolved, that the legiſlative and judicial Power of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, was a great Hindrance to the Diſcharge of their Spiritual Function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away; and that a Bill be drawn for that Purpoſe.

The Commons ſent up to the Lords Articles againſt Dr *Coſins*, who was accuſed of introducing into the Church of *Durham*, divers Innovations, tending to reſtore Popery.

A Bill was read for puniſhing and fining the Members of the late Convocation. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Fine was 20,000*l.* others were fined 10,000 *l.* others 5000; and the leaſt of a Biſhop was 1000. The reſt of the Members were rated each in proportion to their Eccleſiaſtical Revenues.

At laſt the Bill againſt the Biſhops and Clergy exerciſing temporal Juriſdiction paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. This met with great Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords; but at laſt they ſent a Meſſage, ſig-

1640. ſignifying, that they would concur with them in every Thing therein contained, except taking away the Biſhops' Votes in Parliament.

At a Conference between the two Houſes, the Lords gave their Reaſons why they conceived the Biſhops had a Right to vote in Parliament: That it was conſiſtent with the Common and Statute Law; and that the Biſhops and their Succeſſors ought not to be deprived of their Right. But as to the removing them from the Star-chamber, Council-table, or any Office in ſecular Affairs, they would fully concur with the Commons.

The Commons gave their Reaſons, why the Biſhops ought not to have Votes in Parliament; and amongſt ſeveral others they gave this Reaſon, Becauſe of the Biſhop's Dependency and Expectancy of Tranſlation to Places of greater Profit.

The Lords, however, voted for the maintaining the Biſhops' Right to ſit in Parliament.

The Commons voted againſt the Hierarchy, that all Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chanters, Canons, and Petty Canons, and their Officers, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed.

It is eaſy to perceive, by what paſſed in Parliament with regard to the Church, that the Commons looked upon this Buſineſs as a Capital Point; tho' they affected to let it go as dependent on the Deſign of reforming the Civil Government: for ſcarce

a

a Day passed without some Debate on this Subject. 1640.

But besides Grievances and Episcopacy, there was another Article, wherein the Commons shewed no great Complaisance to the King; and that was the Business of the Catholicks. *Charles* trod almost in his Father's Steps; that is to say, he appeared to be entirely attached to the Protestant Religion; whilst, on the other hand, he protected and countenanced the Papists.

As the King could not deny that there were Laws against Recusants, and that these Laws had not been executed, tho' he had several Times promised to see it done, it was no longer a proper Season to protect them openly: And therefore, he issued out Proclamations, enjoining the Execution of these Laws, in order to content the Parliament. But these Proclamations were drawn so artfully, that they properly granted nothing of what they seemed to promise. For the Hatred the Court Party had to the Presbyterians, made them not scruple to come too near Popery, in order to be at a greater Distance from Presbyterianism. This probably was the true Cause of all the Innovations introduced into the Publick Worship, and of the inviolable Attachment to the Observance of certain indifferent or needless Customs and Ceremonies; for the chief A of the Governors of the Church, was widen the Difference between Presbyteri and the Church of *England*.

1640. ſignifying, that they would concur with them in every Thing therein contained, except taking away the Biſhops' Votes in Parliament.

At a Conference between the two Houſes, the Lords gave their Reaſons why they conceived the Biſhops had a Right to vote in Parliament: That it was conſiſtent with the Common and Statute Law; and that the Biſhops and their Succeſſors ought not to be deprived of their Right. But as to the removing them from the Star-chamber, Council-table, or any Office in ſecular Affairs, they would fully concur with the Commons.

The Commons gave their Reaſons, why the Biſhops ought not to have Votes in Parliament; and amongſt ſeveral others they gave this Reaſon, Becauſe of the Biſhop's Dependency and Expectancy of Tranſlation to Places of greater Profit.

The Lords, however, voted for the maintaining the Biſhops' Right to ſit in Parliament.

The Commons voted againſt the Hierarchy, that all Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chanters, Canons, and Petty Canons, and their Officers, ſhould be utterly aboliſhed.

It is eaſy to perceive, by what paſſed in Parliament with regard to the Church, that the Commons looked upon this Buſineſs as a Capital Point; tho' they affected to let it go as dependent on the Deſign of reforming the Civil Government: for ſcarce

a

a Day paſſed without ſome Debate on this Subject. 1640.

But beſides Grievances and Epiſcopacy, there was another Article, wherein the Commons ſhewed no great Complaiſance to the King; and that was the Buſineſs of the Catholicks. *Charles* trod almoſt in his Father's Steps; that is to ſay, he appeared to be entirely attached to the Proteſtant Religion; whilſt, on the other hand, he protected and countenanced the Papiſts.

As the King could not deny that there were Laws againſt Recuſants, and that theſe Laws had not been executed, tho' he had ſeveral Times promiſed to ſee it done, it was no longer a proper Seaſon to protect them openly: And therefore, he iſſued out Proclamations, enjoining the Execution of theſe Laws, in order to content the Parliament. But theſe Proclamations were drawn ſo artfully, that they properly granted nothing of what they ſeemed to promiſe. For the Hatred the Court Party had to the Preſbyterians, made them not ſcruple to come too near Popery, in order to be at a greater Diſtance from Preſbyterianiſm. This probably was the true Cauſe of all the Innovations introduced into the Publick Worſhip, and of the inviolable Attachment to the Obſervance of certain indifferent or needleſs Cuſtoms and Ceremonies; for the chief Aim of the Governors of the Church, was to widen the Difference between Preſbyterians and the Church of *England*.

The

1640. The Commons desired the General of the Army to dismiss all Popish Officers; and moved his Majesty, that all Commanders and other Officers in any Town or Garrison, that were Papists, might be removed. The King answered, he knew of no Papist that had the Command of any Place; but, however, had given Orders to be more particularly informed.

The House sent an Order to all the Justices of the Peace of *Westminster*, *London*, and *Middlesex*, enjoining them to proceed against Recusants, according to Law, notwithstanding any Inhibition or Restraint.

There was a sort of Dispute between the King and Commons, on account of *John Goodman*, a Jesuit, who had been condemned to die, but was reprieved by the King. The Houses had several Conferences on the Subject, and at length joined in a Remonstrance to his Majesty, to move him that the Laws might be put in Execution against Priests and Jesuits, and particularly against *Goodman*. Notwithstanding all that could be said, it is likely the King obtained what he desired, and saved *Goodman*'s Life; but this sort of Victory failed not to do the King some Prejudice, in that his Enemies took occasion from thence to represent, that there was no depending upon his Proclamations and Promises with respect to the Papists. It is not doubted but the Queen solicited strongly in *Goodman*'s Behalf.

Notice being given to the Commons, that the

the Papiſts were preparing to execute ſome great Deſign; and that, by the Queen's Order, all Roman Catholicks faſted every *Saturday*, for the proſperous Succeſs of the ſame, they made an Order, that all Judges, in their Circuits, ſhould effectually put the Laws in execution againſt the Prieſts and Jeſuits. 1640.

The Commons ordered the Lord Mayor of *London* to prevent Papiſts from reſorting to Ambaſſadors Houſes and the Queen's Chapel.

The Commons began to take into Conſideration the Contribution raiſed amongſt the Papiſts, for carrying on the late War againſt the *Scots*, at the Inſtance of the Queen, who writ circular Letters to exhort them to it: But the Queen found Means to appeaſe them by Meſſage; wherein ſhe ſaid, that ſhe was moved to it, merely out of tender Affection to the King; and if it was illegal, ſhe was ignorant of the Law; but promiſed to be more cautious for the future.

I ſhall now return to the *Scots* Army, which was left at *Newcaſtle*. It was this *Scots* Invaſion that compelled the King to call a Parliament; and it was the ſame that enabled the Parliament to break all the King's Meaſures, and obliged him to ſuffer a Redreſs of Grievances. In a word, it was ſolely by the Help of the *Scots*, that the Parliament had it in their Power to reſtore the Government to its former State.

Sir *William Widdrington*, Knight of the Shire

1641. Shire for *Northumberland*, ſpeaking concerning the Matter of a Petition preſented by that County, on account of the Oppreſſions they laboured under from the *Scots* Army, called the *Scots* invading Rebels. The Houſe was ſo offended at the Expreſſion, that *Widdrington* eſcaped Impriſonment only by recanting, and promiſing to call them Rebels no more. Nothing was more capable of letting the King ſee how far the Commons were from aiding him againſt the *Scots*: But this was not the only Mark they gave of their Intention; they thought proper to give the *Scots* 300,000 *l.* in reward for their brotherly Aſſiſtance in *England*; and they found Means to ſpin out the Negotiation of Peace till the 7th of *Auguſt* 1641; that is to ſay, till all Grievances were very nearly redreſſed.

The SUBSTANCE *of the* TREATY *concluded between* England *and* Scotland *the 7th of* Auguſt 1641.

FIRST, the *Scots* declare, that, by their treating with the *Engliſh* Parliament, they do not acknowledge any Dependence of *Scotland* upon *England*.

The SCOTS *demand*,

I. That his Majeſty would command, that the Acts of the late Parliament of *Scotland* may be publiſhed in his Majeſty's Name,

Name, with Conſent of the Eſtates of Par- 1641.
liament.

II. That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and other Strengths of the Kingdom, ſhould be furniſhed and uſed for the Defence of the Kingdom.

III. That *Scotſmen*, within his Majeſty's Dominions of *England* and *Ireland*, may be freed from Cenſure for ſubſcribing the Covenant, and be no more preſſed with Oaths and Subſcriptions not warranted by their Laws.

IV. That whoſoever ſhall be found, upon Trial and Examination by the Eſtates of either of the two Parliaments, to have been the Authors and Cauſers of the late and preſent Troubles, ſhall be liable to the Cenſure and Sentence of the ſaid Parliaments reſpectively; the *Engliſh* to the Parliament of *England*, and the *Scots* to that of *Scotland*.

V. That their Ships and Goods, and all Damages thereof, may be reſtored.

VI. That the Loſſes which the Kingdom of *Scotland* hath ſuſtained, and for the vaſt Charges they have been put to, Reparation be made.

VII. That all ſuch Declarations, Proclamations, Books, Libels, *&c.* as have been made againſt the Subjects of *Scotland*, may be ſuppreſſed and deſtroy'd.

The VIIIth *Demand contains ſeveral Articles.*

1. That all Tokens and Shews of Hoſtility upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms

1641. may be taken away; and particularly, that not only the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* may be removed, but that the Works may be ſlighted, and the Places diſmantled.

2. That there be Unity in Religion, and Uniformity of Church-Government between the two Nations.

3. That the King's Majeſty and the Prince come and reſide ſometimes in *Scotland*.

4. That the Officers of State, Counſellors, and Seſſioners, within the Kingdom of *Scotland*, be placed by Advice of Parliament.

5. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to place about his own Perſon, in Places of greateſt Truſt, ſome of his *Scots* Subjects.

6. That none may have Places about his Majeſty and the Prince, but ſuch as are of the Reform'd Religion.

7. That the Copper Coin which hath paſſed in *Scotland* this long Time, for ſeven Times and above as much as the true Value, be newly regulated; and that no Copper Money be coined hereafter, without Conſent of the States conveened in Parliament.

After theſe Articles, there was added to the Treaty the Draught of an Act of Oblivion, the moſt ample that could be, which was to paſs in all the Parliaments of the three Kingdoms; but of which the Benefit was not to extend to the *Scots* Prelates, the Earl of *Traquair*, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, Sir *John*

John Hay, and Mr *Walter Balcanqual*. In this Act there was a Clauſe, that if any of the Subjects of one of theſe Kingdoms ſhould make War, or riſe in Arms againſt any of the Kingdoms and Subjects thereof, without Conſent of Parliament of that Kingdom whereof they are Subjects, that they ſhould be reputed as Traitors. 1641.

In ſhort, the King agreed to their Demands, and went thither in *Auguſt* 1641, and aſſiſted in Perſon at the Parliament, and gave the Royal Aſſent to all the Bills preſented to him. To this came the Projects with regard to *Scotland*, ſince the Beginning of his Reign.

It is eaſy to ſee how much all theſe Mortifications muſt have touched the King. Nothing was more againſt his inflexible Temper, than to ſee himſelf forced to ſtoop to a Houſe of Commons, for whom he had before ſhewn nothing but Contempt. It is no Wonder, that in this his ſad State he ſhould think of ſome Way to free himſelf from this ſlaviſh Yoke: A Project, therefore, was on foot, of gaining the Army, and cauſing them to declare for the King. This Plot is, by ſome, looked upon as a Chimera, a meer Fiction, to render the King odious: But, on the other hand, the Parliament conſidered it as a very real Conſpiracy; and pretended to draw from thence an evident Proof, that the King's Compliance, with reſpect to the Redreſs of Grievances, was all Diſſimulation. But before I proceed to a Re-

1641. Relation of this Plot, I ſhall ſay ſomething of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Affair.

The Proceſs for trying the Earl could not be got ready till the 22d of *March* 1640. This Trial laſted till the 12th of *April*; and then the Commons, who had been preſent all the While, perceiving, doubtleſs, that the Sentence would not be ſo ſevere as they wiſhed, reſolved to proceed againſt him by way of Bill of Attainder. They voted therefore, that it was ſufficiently proved, that the Earl had endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government into the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*; and that this was High Treaſon: and a Bill of Attainder was paſſed; but it met with great Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords.

The King came to the Houſe of Lords, and made a Speech; wherein he ſaid, "That "having been preſent at the Trial of the "Earl of *Strafford*, he could not, in Con-"ſcience, condemn him of High Treaſon, "tho' he thought him guilty of Miſde-"meanor; therefore, he deſired the Lords "to find ſome Way to bring him out of "this his great Straits."

The Commons were much troubled at this Speech; and, as the Lords returned from *Weſtminſter*, a great Multitude inſulted and threatened them, crying out, *Juſtice, Juſtice.*

The ſame Day Mr *Pym* made known to the Houſe, that there were divers Informations

tions given of desperate Designs, both at Home and Abroad, against the Parliament, and the Peace of the Nation; and that the Persons engaged therein were under an Oath of Secrecy: That there was an Endeavour to disaffect the Army, not only against the Parliament's Proceedings, but to bring them up against the Parliament, to over-awe them. 1641.

The House fell into a serious Debate about this Matter, and were generally of Opinion, that it was necessary to enter into a common Resolution for the Safety of the Kingdom: Whereupon the Commons made a Protestation to defend the Reformed Protestant Religion against Popery and Popish Innovations, his Majesty's Royal Person, Honour, and Estate; also the Power and Privilege of Parliament, and the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects.

The People continued to flock together about *Westminster*, and openly threatened the Lords; and presented a Petition, demanding Justice against the Earl of *Strafford*. They also set forth, that they understood the Tower was going to receive a Garrison, under the Command of a Captain, a great Confidant of the Earl's, which was done to make way for his Escape. The Lords sent to examine Sir *William Balfour*, Lieutenant of the Tower, about the Truth of the Matter; who answered, it was true he had his Majesty's Orders to receive 100 Men into the Tower, and Capt. *Billingsly* to command them.

The

1641. The Lords had a Conference with the Commons, and ſaid, they were drawing to a Concluſion of the Bill of Attainder: but were ſo encompaſſed with Multitudes, that they might be conceived not to be free; and therefore, deſired the Commons to join with them, to find out a Way to diſperſe the Populace. Then they debated the Proteſtation, paſſed it, and took the ſame. The Commons having ordered Dr *Burgeſs* to acquaint the Multitude with the Proteſtation taken by both Houſes, and that they were deſired to return to their Houſes, they departed.

The ſame Day the Commons ordered the bringing in a Bill for the Continuance of this preſent Parliament, that it might not be diſſolved, without the Conſent of both Houſes: They ordered likewiſe the Proteſtation to be tendered to the whole Kingdom.

The Commons were informed, that ſeveral of the Conſpirators were fled; of whom Mr *Henry Jermin*, and Mr *Henry Percy*, Members of the Houſe, were two, and that they were gone to *Portſmouth*. At the ſame Time Information came, that the Queen was preparing to go to the ſame Place. Upon this were ſent one Lord and two Commoners, to propoſe certain Queries to the Governor, and take Care for the Security of the Town and Haven. They alſo moved the Queen to forbear her Journey; and deſired the King to re-call the Fugitives, which he promiſed. Then the Speaker, by Order of the Houſe, ſent a Letter to Sir *Jacob Aſhly*,

Aſhly, with a Charge to communicate the ſame to the Army. 1641.

This Letter contained, that the Army ſhould not want their Pay; and hoped they would act like Men of Honour, for the Good of the Commonwealth.

Mean while the Committee, appointed to enquire into the Conſpiracy, made their Report, that the Plot conſiſted of three Heads. 1. A Deſign upon the Tower. 2. To engage the Army. 3. To bring in foreign Forces. That Sir *John Suckling*, Mr *Percy*, and Mr *Jermin*, with ſeveral others, were concerned in this Conſpiracy: That the King of *France* had drawn down great Forces to the Sea-ſide, with a Deſign to land them in *England*. The Depoſitions that were taken were ſo full, (and indeed to me they ſeem to be ſo) that the Commons made no Doubt of the Truth of it, tho' King *Charles*'s Friends counted it a meer Chimera.

However, by this the Commons got the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Act for the Continuance of the preſent Parliament, the more eaſily paſſed; to which the King gave the Royal Aſſent.

The Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial was the next Thing taken in hand. The Articles againſt him, to the Number of 28, tended to prove in general, that he had endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the State, and ſet up an arbitrary Power: So, tho' each of the pretended Crimes, whereof he was ac-

1641. accused, could not be counted High Treason, the House would have it, that all together manifestly shewed the End he drove at, and the Means he had employ'd to attain it.

The Parliament of *Ireland* sent a Committee of both Houses to *England*, to lay before the Parliament Remonstrances concerning the Grievances the *Irish* endured under the Earl of *Strafford*'s Administration, as Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; which Grievances were very numerous, and against Law, and done by his sole Authority. He condemned and executed several, laid grievous Fines on others, and some he imprisoned: and all for not submitting to his Will, which he would have pass for Law; and several of the 28 Articles explained fully these Grievances.

It was urged in his Defence by himself and Council, tho' his Crimes were as high and tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured upon, yet it could not be deemed High Treason. An Instance was given in the Reign of *Edward* VI. when the Duke of *Somerset* was accused of High Treason and Felony, he was acquitted of the first, and condemned for the last; and the Commons finding, that the Lords would hardly be brought to condemn him, therefore they thought fit to take another Course.

The Commons voted, that the Endeavour of the Earl of *Strafford* to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Realms of *England* and *Ire-*

Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government in both these Kingdoms, was High Treason. Two Days after a Bill of Attainder was brought in against the Earl, with a Majority of 204 against 59; after which it was sent up to the Lords. 1641.

The Lords began to weigh the Argument for and against the Bill. In this Interval several Thousands of the Inhabitants of *London* (*Rushworth* says 20,000, all Men of good Rank and Quality) presented to both Houses a Petition against the Earl, saying, he was sworn Enemy of the City.

The King went to the House of Lords, and made a Speech, endeavouring to get him cleared of being condemned of High Treason; tho' he allowed he had been guilty of Misdemeanors, for which he ought to be condemned; and declared him not fit to serve in any Place of Trust for the future.

This Speech only served to render the Earl's Ruin more certain. Soon after the Lords passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl, who was voted guilty of High Treason, upon the Articles of levying Money in *Ireland* by Force, in a warlike Manner, and for imposing an Oath upon the Subjects in *Ireland*.

The King had declared also in his Speech, that he did not believe in his Conscience, that the Earl was guilty of High Treason; which put him to a great Stand what to do: so he called his Privy-Council together, and sent for his Lawyers, to advise what to do.

1641. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, was the only Perſon that adviſed him not to paſs the Bill. All the reſt uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade him to ſatisfy the People; telling him, that the Life of any one Perſon ought not to be put in Balance with the Safety of the Kingdom. As to his Scruples of Conſcience, they adviſed him to conſult with the Biſhops.

It is affirmed, that *Neil*, Archbiſhop of *York*, ſaid to him on this Occaſion, that there was a private and a publick Conſcience: That his publick Conſcience, as a King, might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to do that which was againſt his private Conſcience, as a Man; and ſo, in plain Terms, adviſed him, even for Conſcience ſake, to paſs the Bill. But what helped the moſt to determine him, was a Letter from the Earl of *Strafford*; who, hearing the Straits the King was in, humbly beſought him to paſs the Bill, to remove him out of the Way towards a bleſſed Agreement, which, he doubted not, God would for ever eſtabliſh betwixt him and his Subjects.

The King therefore ſigned a Commiſſion to three Lords to paſs it in his Name. Two Days after the Earl was executed, and ſuffered Death with great Conſtancy and Reſolution.

Notwithſtanding the Earl's Letter, when the News came that the Bill was paſſed, he roſe from his Chair, laid his Hand on his Heart, and ſaid, *Put not your Truſt in Princes,*

nor

nor in the Sons of Men; for in them there is no Salvation. 1648.

I ſhall here add, in order to finiſh what relates to the Earl of *Strafford*, that, not long after his Death, the ſame Parliament paſſed an Act for reſtoring his Children in Blood and Honour, and for ſettling his Eſtate upon his Heirs; and that the Act of Attainder was repealed in the Reign of *Charles* II. I do not believe any *Engliſh* Subject has had ſo many Praiſes beſtow'd upon him as the Earl of *Strafford*: But I own, when I conſider his Life and Actions, the great Encomiums paſſed upon him will hardly bear a juſt Foundation; tho' none can, by any Means, pretend to queſtion but his natural and acquired Abilities were very great.

The general Aim of the Parliament was not only to redreſs paſt Grievances; but alſo to free the Kingdom from the Fear of being expoſed to the like Calamities in Time to come. The King, on the contrary, imagined, that, by giving or promiſing good Places to the Leaders of the oppoſite Party, he ſhould ſtop their Mouths; but they were too wiſe to fall into the Snare.

The Houſe of Commons equally ſet about the Redreſs of Grievances, and the Execution of the Deſign againſt the Biſhops. Thus the Affairs of Church and State went Hand-in-hand; inſomuch that ſcarce a Day paſt, but the Commons gave the King ſome Mortification, and were often ſtorming againſt the Conſpiracy before-mentioned.

The

1641. The Commons brought in Bills to aboliſh the Star-chamber and Court of *York*, to regulate the Council-table, to aboliſh Ship-money, and prevent vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, againſt illegal Impriſonments, and for aſcertaining the Bounds and Limits of Foreſts. Each Judge in particular was accuſed. The Tax impoſed by the King on the Shires, for the Wages of the Muſter-maſter, was declared to be contrary to Law. The Conſpiracy to ſeduce the Army was likewiſe examined; and *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Pollard*, were expelled the Houſe, and committed to Priſon.

As to Religion, beſides what was done with reſpect to the Papiſts, the Commons declared to be illegal the Oath by which Miniſters were bound to maintain the Hierarchy in the Church. A Bill was brought in againſt Pluraliſts. The Canons made by the late Convocation were condemned. A Bill was paſſed to aboliſh the High Commiſſion. The Suppreſſion of Deans and Chapters was voted. *Matthew Wren*, Biſhop of *Ely*, was impeached. It was ordered, that the Proteſtation ſhould be ſubſcribed by the whole Nation. An Accuſation was brought to the Lords againſt 13 Biſhops, who had aſſiſted at the Convocation.

There was a Diſpute between the two Houſes touching the Star-chamber. The Lords were willing to agree it ſhould be reformed; but refuſed to conſent to its Abolition;

lition: But the Commons vigorouſly ſup- 1641.
porting the Bill, the Peers paſſed it at laſt, and the King gave his Aſſent.

The Cuſtomers who had collected the Duties impoſed on Merchant Goods by the King's ſole Authority, finding they ran the Riſk of being fallen upon, offered, of their own Accord, 150,000 *l.* for an Act of Oblivion, and their Offer was accepted.

The Lord *Digby*, Son of the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Member of the Houſe of Commons, was called by Writ to ſit in the Houſe of Lords. In the Beginning of this Parliament he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Zeal for the Redreſs of Grievances; but he went over to the King's Party, and was afterwards his chief Miniſter and Counſellor.

The *Iriſh* Army not being diſbanded, the King had made a Promiſe of 4000 Men thereof to ſerve the King of *Spain*, and the reſt to ſerve the King of *France*; and this was agreed to by the Lords. The Commons thought this was an Artifice of the King's to keep his Popiſh Army ſtanding, to ſerve him on Occaſion: Wherefore, they prayed him to call in his Word; but the King reſolved to keep to his Promiſe.

The two Houſes found Means to render the King's Reſolution fruitleſs, by publiſhing an Ordinance, declaring, that whoever ſhould aſſiſt in tranſporting theſe *Iriſh* Troops, ſhould be deemed an Enemy to the State; and not one Owner of Ships durſt run the Hazard of tranſporting them.

The

1641. The *Scots* Commiſſioners had a good Underſtanding with the Commons; and managed it ſo, that the Negotiation of Peace was ſpun out till the 7th of *Auguſt* this Year; tho' the King, by granting whatever was demanded of him, removed all Difficulties as far as lay in his Power.

The Negotiation being about to end, the King permitted the Parliament of *Scotland* to meet, and promiſed to be there in Perſon, to paſs ſuch Acts as ſhould be judged requiſite. This made the Commons ſuſpect the King to have a Deſign to put himſelf at the Head of his Army in the North; upon which they had a Conference with the Lords, and moved, that the Armies might be diſbanded before the King's Departure. They petitioned the King alſo to put off his Journey till ſome neceſſary Bills were paſſed. After divers Conferences, the King conſented to put off his Journey till the 10th of *Auguſt*; and that the two Armies ſhould be diſbanded by that Time.

The Commons' Diſtruſt ſtill ſubſiſting, it was reſolved, that a Committee of ſome Lords and Commoners ſhould be ſent to the Parliament of *Scotland*, to remain there, and inform them from Time to Time of their Proceedings; and a Draught of a Commiſſion was ſent to the King to ſign: but he refuſed it, becauſe he ſaw no Neceſſity for any ſuch thing. He conſented, however, that the Committee ſhould attend him in *Scotland* to ſee the Ratification of the Treaty. Af-

te

ter this, both Houſes reſolved to adjourn on the 9th of *September* till the 20th of *October*. 1641.

As ſoon as this Reſolution was taken, ſeveral of both Houſes went into the Country; ſo that there were not left above 22 Lords, and 115 Members. Then ſome one, who was doubtleſs a Preſbyterian, willing to make the moſt of ſo fair an Opportunity, moved, that it was neceſſary to make ſome Alterations in the Common Prayer Book. This Motion occaſioned a very hot Debate. Mr *Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, ſo ſtrenuouſly defended the Liturgy, that this Motion came to nothing.

Before the Adjournment, the Commons appointed a Committee of 43 to take Care, during the Receſs, of the moſt weighty and urgent Affairs. The Lords appointed a Committee of ſeven Peers for the ſame Purpoſe; which done, both Houſes adjourned till the 20th of *October*.

During the Receſs, the *Engliſh* Committee in *Scotland* ſent word to the Committee in *England*, that there was a ſort of a Conſpiracy in *Scotland* to interrupt the Proceedings of the Parliament of that Kingdom, and put to Death the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Earl of *Lanerk*.

The Parliament being met the 20th of *October*, the Commons had a Conference with the Lords about the Conſpiracy in *Scotland*; whereupon it was ordered, that a ſtrong Guard ſhould be kept in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Care taken for the

1641. the Defence of the whole Kingdom; and a Meſſenger was ſent to acquaint the Parliament of *Scotland*, that the Parliament of *England* was ready to aſſiſt them againſt thoſe that ſhould diſturb the Peace: but I don't ſee that any full Evidence appeared to make good this pretended Plot.

The Parliament ſeemed to have nothing more to do, all Grievances being in a manner redreſſed, and the Armies diſbanded; but the Preſbyterian Party had other Views.

At this Time News came to *London* of a Rebellion in *Ireland*. Since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when *Fitz-Owen*'s Rebellion was happily quelled, the *Iriſh* had lived in a peaceable Manner. As to their Religion, it is eaſy to imagine they had ſuffered no new Troubles in the late and preſent Reign, in which the Catholicks met with little Perſecution: Nevertheleſs, the *Iriſh* had formed a Project of caſting off the *Engliſh* Yoke, of ſeizing on all the fortified Places, and of cutting the Throats of all the *Engliſh* throughout the whole Kingdom. The Day appointed for putting this bloody Deſign in execution, was the 23d of *October*; at which Time they were to riſe all over the Iſland. This Deſign was really executed as it had been projected; and it is ſaid, on that and the following Days, above 40,000 *Engliſh* Proteſtants were maſſacred by the *Iriſh*: But the Project of ſeizing the ſame Day upon the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where was a great Magazine of Proviſions and Stores,

was

was discovered the Night before, and prevented by the Diligence of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, who governed in the Absence of the Earl of *Leicester*, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant, but was yet in *England*. 1641.

This News being communicated to the Commons by the Lords of the Privy-Council, filled the House with Consternation and Terror, and with Indignation against the Rebels; and being turned into a grand Committee, passed the following Votes.

That 50,000 *l.* shall be forthwith provided for the Service of *Ireland*.

That *Owen Conolly*, who discovered this great Treason in *Ireland*, shall have 500 *l.* presently paid him, and 200 *l.* a-year Pension, till Provision be made for an Inheritance of greater Value.

That the Persons of Papists of Quality in the several Counties of this Kingdom, wherever they reside, may be secured.

That a List be brought in of the Queen's Priests, and others her Servants.

Two Days after the House voted the Supply to be 200,000 *l.* and that the Magazines of Arms, Ammunition, and Powder, now in *Carlisle*, shall forthwith be sent over to *Knockfergus* in *Ireland*.

That Directions shall be given for the drawing of a Bill for the pressing of Men to send to *Ireland*.

The King asked Aid of the Parliament of *Scotland* to go against the Rebels; which

1641. was granted, if the *Engliſh* Parliament concurred in it.

The Lords Juſtices ſent frequent and preſſing Meſſages for Aid: And tho' the Rebels continually increaſed in Number; yet the Supplies that were ſent thither were but ſmall, and fitter to keep up than end the Troubles.

The Rebels, unfortunately for the King, ſpread a Report, that they had his Authority for what they did. They called themſelves the Queen's Army, and diſperſed all over the Kingdom Copies of a pretended Commiſſion under the Great Seal, which they pretended to have from the King, to authorize them to take Arms.

This made deep Impreſſions on the Minds of thoſe who were already ill-affected to the King; and believed him capable of any thing to avoid the Servitude they were preparing for him. Indeed the ſober and moſt conſiderate did not believe the King had any Hand in the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants; but they imagined it very poſſible, that after having ſtirred up the Rebellion, it was not in his Power to reſtrain the *Iriſh*.

The King, not knowing what was ſaid againſt him in *England*, preſſed the Parliament to ſend a ſpeedy Aid into *Ireland*; but they believed his Aim was to leave *England* unprovided with Troops, and to engage the Parliament in an *Iriſh* War. This was the Reaſon the Commons ſent out inconſiderable Succours into *Ireland*; being apprehenſive, that

that the *Iriſh* Rebellion was a Snare laid for them by the King, to cauſe them to conſume the *Engliſh* Troops and Money. 1641.

This pretended Commiſſion from the King, Copies whereof were diſperſed in *Ireland*, was dated the 1ſt of *October* this Year; and in it is contained, by way of Recital, Facts which did not really happen till ſome Time after the Date; and as theſe Facts were not in Being at the Time of the Date, it is to me a ſtrong Argument, that it was forged. Be this as it will, this Pretenſion of the *Iriſh* was of very ill Conſequence to the King, there were ſo many who had an ill Opinion of his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion: And if the *Iriſh* themſelves were of that Opinion, (which the Favours he ſhewed to the Papiſts in *England* might reaſonably introduce) they would likewiſe be of Opinion, that tho' this Forgery enabled them to raiſe a powerful Army; yet the King would not diſlike it, under the preſent Poſture of Affairs, but be ready to join them.

The Preſbyterian Party in the Houſe of Commons, by cheriſhing Suſpicions of the King's having a Hand in this Rebellion, gained Ground in their ſecret Deſign of a Revolution in the Government.

Under colour of thanking the *Scots* for their promiſed Aſſiſtance in regard to *Ireland*, the Houſe ſent a Committee into *Scotland*, with Inſtructions very grating to the King; which even tended to infuſe into the

Scots

1641. *Scots* ſuch Suſpicions as were received by the Parliament of *England*.

Soon after the Parliament fell into a Debate, which was, to have a Remonſtrance drawn up of the State of the Kingdom, which laſted from three in the Afternoon till three in the Morning; and it was carried, at laſt, by a Majority of nine. *Oliver Cromwell* told the Lord *Falkland*, that if the Remonſtrance had been rejected, he would have ſold all he had the next Morning, and never have ſeen *England* more.

This Reſolution was no ſooner taken, but Mr *Hampden*, who was of the victorious Party, moved for the preſent printing of the Remonſtrance. His Deſign was, that it ſhould be diſperſed among the People, to ſtir them up againſt the King; which was alſo the Intention of the whole Party. This Motion, which was contrary to Cuſtom, ſince they ſhould have ſtaid till it had been preſented to the King, produced a ſharp Debate; but the ſame Party carried it, and it was ordered to be printed. Some Oppoſers offered to enter a Proteſtation againſt it. Mr *Palmer*, who was the firſt that ſaid, *I do proteſt*, was ſent to the Tower; but was releaſed after a few Days, and took his Place in the Houſe again.

Three Days after the King came to *London*, and was ſeemingly received with all Demonſtrations of Joy by the City of *London*; but this laſted not long.

As ſoon as the King came to *Whitehall*, the

the Earl of *Eſſex* ſurrendered his Commiſſion of Captain-General of the South Parts of the Kingdom; and the next Day the King diſmiſſed the Guards, which the Earl had given to both Houſes at their Requeſt. 1641.

The Commons, with the Lords' Concurrence, deſired the King, that the Guards might be continued till they had ſatisfied him of the Reaſons why a Guard was neceſſary. The King refuſed; but commanded the Earl of *Dorſet* to appoint ſome of the Train'd Bands to wait on both Houſes till he was ſatisfied of theſe Reaſons; and if he ſaw Cauſe, would continue them.

The Commons gave one Reaſon, that they would not have a Guard under the Command of any Perſon not choſen by themſelves; with other Reaſons added, built upon improbable Suppoſitions: ſo had no Effect.

The Commons, a few Days after, ſent a Committee to preſent to the King the Remonſtrance; which was the Alarm-bell of the Diſcord between the King and the Parliament.

This Remonſtrance contained 204 Articles; all the National Grievances were herein ſummed up: or, it might be rather counted a real Manifeſto againſt the King, under the Name of the Counſellors and Miniſters.

The King gave an Anſwer to the Remonſtrance; wherein he ſet forth, that he was always ready to give his Aſſent to ſuch Bills as the Commons brought in for the Redreſs

1641. dreſs of all Grievances complained of. He alſo expreſſed his great Concern for his Subjects of *Ireland*; and deſired that a ſpeedy and effectual Method might be taken to ſubdue the Rebels.

The King made a Speech to both Houſes; wherein he expreſſed, that he had got the *Scots* Affairs fully ſettled, and had left that Nation a moſt peaceable and contented People: That before he went, he had ſettled the Liberties of his Subjects, and given the Laws a free and orderly Courſe: That he expected to have found his People reaping the Fruits of thoſe Benefits, by living in Quiet and Satisfaction of Mind; but inſtead thereof, he found them diſturbed with Jealouſies and Alarms of dangerous Deſigns and Plots. He promiſed to grant every thing that can be juſtly deſired, for Satisfaction in point of Liberties, or in Maintenance of the true Religion that is here eſtabliſhed. He recommended the Affair of *Ireland* to be ſpeedily taken into Conſideration.

It was not without Reaſon, that the King reſolved to expreſs a great Zeal, which he did in his Speech, for the Publick Good, conſidering the Poſture of his Affairs: But he lay under one great Diſadvantage, in that for Things to come he could give no other Security than his Word, on which his Enemies pretended to demonſtrate there was no relying.

The Commons appointed a Committee to treat

treat with the *Scots* about Succours to ſend into *Ireland*. 1641.

After the Remonſtrance, every thing manifeſtly tended to a Rupture between the King and Parliament; and the Commons omitted no Opportunity to infuſe Suſpicions into the Minds of the People againſt the King.

Daniel O Neal, who was concerned in the Plot to ſeduce the Army, was voted guilty of a ſecond Attempt. This tended to ſhew, that the King had not given over his Project to make uſe of Force to awe the Parliament.

About the ſame Time another Affair happened, which gave ſome Advantage againſt the King. He ſent to acquaint both Houſes, that ſeven Prieſts having been condemned that Week, the *French* Ambaſſador had deſired him to change the Sentence of Death into that of Baniſhment: Upon which he aſked their Conſent; but both Houſes petitioned the King to order the Execution: but he thought not proper to grant their Deſire. His Reaſon was, that this Rigour might be prejudicial to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*.

This really was looked upon as a weak Reaſon, conſidering the Maſſacre the Papiſts had made in *Ireland*; but it was thought to be owing to the Queen's Solicitations. Be that as it will, the Prieſts were not executed: For tho' afterwards the King left it to both Houſes to put to Death or ſave them, they

1641. they did not think fit to take upon them either to pardon or execute.

The *Iriſh* Army was at the Gates of *Dublin*, and had cut in Pieces a Body of Troops ſent to *Drogheda*. The *Scots* had offered an Aid of 5000 Men; and a Motion was made for their ſending 10,000; and the King would have had the *Engliſh* ſend the like Number. The *Scots* agreed to it; but the Deſign of the Commons was to employ only *Scots* Troops, that *England* might not be left unprovided.

The Lords *Coſtelough* and *Taaff* had been ſent by the Rebels in *Ireland* to the King, with Propoſitions about procuring the Peace of *Ireland*. The Commons, from their Miſtruſt, with reſpect to the King, committed them to Priſon, and cauſed all their Papers to be examined.

The Jealouſies that were on foot between the King and Commons, retarded the Aſſiſtance to be ſent to *Ireland*. The Commons would willingly have paid the *Scots* Auxiliaries; but were againſt having the *Engliſh* Troops ſent under the Command of Officers appointed by the King, fearing they might be made uſe of againſt them, as a Breach between King and Parliament was then very likely; and the King, on the other hand, preſſed to have the ſame Number of *Engliſh* ſent as ſhould be ſent from *Scotland*.

The Commons, upon the Report of a Committee appointed to examine from whence came

came the Obſtacles why *Ireland* was not relieved, made one great Obſtruction, that they had not been declared Rebels. The King, upon this, iſſued a Proclamation, declaring them Traitors and Rebels: but there were only 40 Copies printed, which were all ſent to Secretary *Nicholas*; and who writ to the Printer, that his Majeſty's expreſs Command was to print no more. 1641.

The King having Notice, that there was a tumultuous Concourſe of People about *Weſtminſter*, ſent a Writ to the Sheriff to ſet a Guard near the Parliament. The Commons took Offence at it, and diſmiſſed them.

The Commons had voted, that a Body of Troops ſhould be ſent to *Ireland*: But, as they were extreamly jealous of the King, they ſought an Expedient to hinder him from having any thing to do in the raiſing theſe Forces: therefore they agreed to paſs a Bill for the preſſing of Soldiers; in which it was declared, that the King had no Right ſingly from his Prerogative to preſs the free-born Subjects, except in the Caſe of an Invaſion.

The King, upon being told of this, made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein he inſiſted upon his Prerogative in this Point; but, to avoid further Debate at this Time, offered that a Bill might paſs, with a *Salvo Jure* both for King and People, and leave the Debates to a proper Time.

Both Houſes, upon this, voted, that the

1641. King had no Right to take Notice of the Bill, while it was under Debate; and that his Majesty's expressing his Displeasure against some Persons, for Matters moved in Parliament during the Debate and Preparation of that Bill, was a Breach of the Privileges of Parliament.

Both Houses united in a solemn Declaration, importing, that his Majesty ought not to propound any Condition, Provision, or Limitation to any Bill, or Act in Debate or Preparation in either Houses of Parliament, or to manifest or declare his Assent or Dissent, Approbation or Dislike, of the same, before it be presented to his Majesty in due Course of Parliament; and that every particular Member of either House hath free Liberty of Speech to propound or debate any Matter, according to the Order and Course of Parliament.

The King gave a fresh Occasion of Complaint, by removing Sir *William Balfour*, Lieutenant of the Tower, from his Place; with whom he was displeased, on account of his Evidence concerning the Design of the late Earl of *Strafford*'s making his Escape.

This had not been of so ill Consequence to the King, had he not trusted that important Place to Col. *Lunsford*, known to be a Man of profligate Manners, and fit for any Purpose. This Change made the Commons believe the King designed to secure the Tower, in order to keep the City and Parliament in Awe.

It

It is certain the Commons ſought all Occaſions to perſuade the People the King had ill Deſigns, and failed not to make the moſt of the preſent one. 1641.

The Inhabitants of *London* preſented a Petition to the Commons, ſetting forth, that the whole State is deeply intereſted in the ſafe Cuſtody of the Tower, but more eſpecially the City of *London*: That *Lunsford* is a Man outlawed, and moſt notorious for Outrages; therefore, deſired them to take this Affair into ſuch Conſideration as might ſecure both the City and Kingdom.

The Commons having taken this Petition into Conſideration, deſired the Lords to join with them in a Petition to the King to remove *Lunsford*, and to recommend to his Majeſty Sir *John Conyers* for that Place. They would not concur with them, becauſe they conceived it would be an Infringement upon his Majeſty's Prerogative.

The Commons, vexed at this Refuſal, voted *Nem. con.* that Col. *Lunsford* was unfit to be Lieutenant of the Tower, as being a Perſon they could not confide in.

The Apprentices of *London* flocked together in great Numbers, and preſented a Petition to the King, praying him to concur with the Commons, in rooting out Papiſts, Innovators, and Biſhops, as having all together plotted to ſubvert the Government, and introduce Popery.

The Lord Mayor of *London* ſeeing the Apprentices coming together again, and know-

1641. knowing they intended to go to *Whitehall* for an Anſwer to their Petition, went to the King, and told him that great Miſchiefs would enſue, if *Lunsford* was not removed: Whereupon the King, that ſame Evening, took the Keys from *Lunsford*; but, at the ſame Time, diſcharged the Earl of *Newport* of the Conſtableſhip of the Tower.

The Reaſon of the Earl's Diſgrace was, that the King had been told, whilſt he was in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newport*, upon Diſcourſe of ſome Plots, ſhould ſay, *If there be any ſuch Plot, yet here are his Wife and Children*; but he denied to the Queen he ſaid any ſuch Thing.

The Lords being convinced, that the King, upon falſe Rumours, had entertained Suſpicions againſt the Earl of *Newport*, took this Matter to Heart, and preſented a Petition to the King, praying him to declare the Reporter of theſe Words; but the King would not tell who informed him. This did not help to cure the Suſpicions of the Houſe of Commons; for *Newport* was a Perſon they deſired to be Conſtable of the Tower.

The Commons found they could never compaſs their Ends, of diveſting the King of his Power, while the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords were always able, by the Number of their Voices, to oppoſe the Execution of this Deſign; and as they could not, by fair Means, prevail, ſome poſitively affirm, the Party

Party againſt the King was the Occaſion of the Tumults I am going to ſpeak of. 1641.

A great Concourſe of People drew together at *Weſtminſter*, and were heard to cry, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*. The Archbiſhop of *York* coming along to go to the Houſe of Peers, and obſerving a Youth crying out louder than the reſt againſt the Biſhops, laid Hands on him, in order to have him committed to Priſon: but the People reſcued the Youth; and, gathering together about the Biſhop, had like to have preſſed him to Death. At laſt they let him go, crying out, louder than ever, *No Biſhops*.

Some Officers walking near *Weſtminſter-Hall*, one of them, Capt. *David Hide*, drew his Sword, ſaying, *He would cut the Throats of thoſe Round-heads, that brawled againſt the Biſhops*. He was apprehended by the Citizens, and brought before the Houſe of Commons, and ſent to Priſon. This is the Origin of the Name of *Round-heads*; which, from this Time, was given to the Parliamentarians.

The ſame Day Col. *Lunsford*, with 30 or 40 Officers, coming through *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and meeting with the Multitude, drew their Swords, and wounded ſome Apprentices and Citizens. This made vaſt Numbers of them come from the City to *Weſtminſter* with Swords and Staffs, which cauſed a dreadful Uproar. The Lord Mayor ordered the City Gates to be ſhut, and put the Train'd Bands in Arms. The King commanded

1641. manded some of the Militia of *Middlesex* and *Westminster* to come by Turns and guard his Person.

The Lords seeing so great a Tumult, ordered the Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod to go and command the People to go to their Homes: But the People answered, they could not, because *Lunsford*, with several other Swordsmen, lay in wait for them in *Westminster-Hall*, and had already wounded several People. The Lords thereupon desired the Commons to join in a Declaration against Tumults, and to petition the King for a Guard. The Commons answered, that it was now too late; that they had not Time to take this Request into Consideration. A clear Evidence, that this Tumult was not disagreeable to the Commons.

The Tumult continued for two Days longer; and the third Day the Commons sent to the Lords a Message, that they were willing to join in all lawful Ways to appease the Tumults; but for printing a Declaration, it was a matter that would require some further Deliberation.

Tho' all Grievances were redressed, yet the Commons now acted from different Views. Some had a mind to diminish the Royal Authority, and put it out of the King's Power to govern as he had done; others, out of Fear of being exposed to his Resentment, if he should be in a Condition to make them feel the Effects of it; and the Presbyterians had in view the altering of the Go-

Government of the Church. All theſe Members were united in the Project of depriving the King of a good Part of his Authority. 1641.

The King all this Time was ſo unfortunate, as not to have an able Council about him, who might warn him of the Snares that were laid for him.

As to the Juſtice of the Project the Commons had formed againſt the King, it is a Queſtion not eaſily to be decided. The Commons inſiſted they could not truſt his Word, ſince he had ſo frequently broke it the firſt 15 Years of his Reign; yet I don't ſee the King refuſed his Aſſent to any Act this Parliament brought in for the Redreſs of Grievances; but the Commons durſt not rely on his Sincerity herein.

The Tumult ſtill continuing about the Parliament-houſe, the Biſhops had a Conſultation, and reſolved not to go any more to the Houſe of Peers, but to preſent to the King and the Lords a Proteſtation; which, amongſt other Things, contained, that, ſaving to themſelves all their Rights and Intereſt of ſitting and voting in the Houſe at other Times, yet they durſt not ſit and vote in the Houſe of Peers, until his Majeſty ſhould ſecure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers; and that they proteſted againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions, and Determinations, that ſhould be made or done during the Time of their forced Abſence.

The

1641. The Tumult having thus affrighted the Biſhops, the Lords, in a Conference with the Commons, repreſented to them, that this Proteſtation containing Matters of dangerous Conſequence, extending to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliament, recommends it as a Thing of great and general Concernment.

The Commons immediately after this reſolved to accuſe the 12 Biſhops of High Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Being of Parliaments; and that very Moment ſent Mr *Glyn* to the Houſe of Peers, to accuſe in Form the 12 Biſhops of High Treaſon, and to deſire they might be put into ſafe Cuſtody. They were accordingly ſent to the Tower.

The Archbiſhop of *York* had drawn up this Proteſtation in his Heat and Paſſion, juſt at the Time when he was aſſaulted by the Mob, and got all the Biſhops to ſign it, without due Deliberation, and delivered it to the King: who, upon reading it over, thought, as is ſaid, that it would amount to a Diſſolution of the Parliament in effect; and that they could do nothing without the Biſhops, as being, according to his Notion, a third Eſtate of Parliament.

The Commons ſent to deſire the Lords to take into Conſideration the Bill for taking away the Biſhops' Votes, which they promiſed to do. 21 JA 50

The Commons ſent to the King to deſire

a